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THE CHANGING TRADITIONAL VALUE SYSTEM OF THE DAKOTA INDIAN:

**A STUDY OF THE CONFLICTING VALUE SYSTEMS OF THE
DAKOTA INDIAN AND WESTERN CIVILIZATION**

By

Clinton J. Jessor

**A thesis submitted
in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the
degree Master of Science at South Dakota
State College of Agriculture
and Mechanic Arts**

June, 1958

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The author gratefully acknowledges Mr. and Mrs. Everett Jordan, Kyle, South Dakota, for the comfortable living accommodations they provided during his stay with them. Appreciation is also extended to Frank Estes, South Dakota State College, Jerome Brown Bull and Chester Red Kettle, Kyle, South Dakota, for acting as interpreters to the author. The following are acknowledged for their assistance in the preparation of the manuscript: Professor Howard M. Sauer, Professor Marvin P. Riley, Professor G. Albert Kristjanson, Mr. Keith Lovald and Mrs. Mary Lamp, all of the Rural Sociology Department, South Dakota State College. Finally, the author is indebted to Dr. Vernon Malan for his guidance as thesis advisor.

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CHAPTER I

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND METHOD OF THE STUDY

Introduction

It has been said that human society is integrated on a mental rather than a biological level.¹ If this is true, and if such integration is to occur, some elemental requisites are required. First, culturally defined goals, purposes and interests must be provided, and secondly, acceptable means to these goals, purposes and interests must be defined, regulated and controlled through the social structure. Anthropologists have called the former "the ends" and the latter "the means to the ends". The sharing of the ends and means by a majority of the societal members fosters conformity and uniformity within the social order and consequently a great proportion of the behavior of the members can be predicted (that is, when the means and ends are compatible or harmonious and also available to the members²).

To make the ends authentic and sacred every societies' members provide institutional codes which permit and require the processes for the attainment of the more important ends. Among the various instrumentalities which social groups have evolved to secure conformity in the conduct of their members, the moral code occupies an important place,

¹ Kingsley Davis, Human Society, p. 157.

² Robert K. Merton, "Social Structure and Anomie," in Logan Wilson and William Kolb, Sociological Analysis, pp. 771-780.

for its norms are binding upon all who live within its precepts. The moral norms, that is, the conduct norms embodied in the moral code, are designed to protect certain social values which are ultimately treasured by the society and prescribe the "good life". The norms of a group dictate not only the expected pattern of behavior of an individual in a particular social situation, but also embody legitimacy. In other words, the norms prescribe and proscribe conduct which provides the basis for "right" and "wrong".

One of the outstanding peculiarities given to human society by symbolic communication--a peculiarity unknown to monkeys and apes--is what we may call legitimacy, or the normative. In every human situation there are two elements--the facts and the attitude toward the facts. The latter are conveyed as a part of the cultural heritage, so that they are there in advance of the actual situation. Perhaps the most powerful of these attitudes and sentiments are those relating to what ought and ought not to be. People tend either to approve or disapprove of the facts, particularly the actual behavior of the participants, in accordance with received judgments. In this way a new dimension is given to social existence, a new and pervasive instrument of control over individual conduct. The normative ideas exist in the minds of the group members, and by being communicated as judgments on conduct they influence the course of external events. For example, human beings must distinguish between mating, which occurs as a fact in every mammalian species, and marriage, which is a special kind of mating that is normatively but not biologically defined. In the same way a man can eat, sleep, walk, or do almost anything else legitimately or illegitimately, depending on the kind of socially defined situation in which he does it.

If individuals were not responsive to the judgments of others, this normative control could not exist. But human beings as members of a group that depends on symbolic communication cannot help but be responsive to such judgments, because their minds and their personalities are formed by the transmission of attitudes and ideas.... In short, he (the individual) is motivated to seek the esteem of his fellows. Thus human society has not only a factual order but also a moral order, and the two are

casually interdependent.³

If the individual does not observe the rules and standards contained in the norms he incurs social sanctions.

The moral norms of conduct among the Dakota Indians were designed to protect the values of generosity, fortitude, bravery and wisdom. In this study these values will be referred to as the Dakota Indian value system.⁴

In recent years social researchers have become increasingly cognizant of the possibility and merit of a study of the values of a society in order that a more complete understanding of the behavior of its members can be gained. The following comments of Spindler indicate an emphasis on values in his recent research.

The notion of social and cultural change is used persuasively, if carelessly, by too many writers to explain too much. Generalized allusions to technological change, cultural lag, the atomic age, and mass society, are more suggestive than clarifying. We must strike to the core of the change. And my argument is that this core can best be conceived as a radical shift in values.

The anthropologist, and I speak as one but not for all, sees culture as a goal-oriented system. These goals are expressed, patterned, lived out by people in their behaviors and aspirations in the form of values--objects or possessions, conditions of existence, personality or characterological features, and states of mind, that are conceived as desirable, and act as motivating determinants of behaviors.⁵

³Davis, op. cit., pp. 47-48, parentheses mine.

⁴The terms value system and moral code will be used synonymously in this study. As an individual conforms to the behavioral norms embodied in the moral code, he indicates his acceptance of the moral code.

⁵George D. Spindler, "Education in Transforming American Culture," The Harvard Educational Review, XXV (Summer, 1955), p. 145.

It is quite clear that Spindler regards values as important determinants of behavior. Even when behavior becomes habit and values latent, it remains that a large proportion of behavior is consciously or unconsciously influenced and governed by social values.

One of the conclusions of anthropologists is that of cultural variability and the relativity of value systems. This means that the designs for living with its system of moral values which one society has evolved may differ considerably from those of another. Each society has their unique value system (moral code). The Dakota Indians have (or had) theirs and the people of Western civilization have theirs. As a result of the culture contacts of these two groups over the past seventy-five years, the Dakota Indian has been exposed to, even coerced to follow, a value system different than his own. The purpose of this study is to describe and analyse the traditional value system of the Dakota Indians in contrast to that of Western civilization, and, as a result of the conflict of value systems between the two societies, to discover any symptoms of social or personal disorganization which may accrue to the present day Pine Ridge Reservation resident.

Review of Literature

A complete and thorough review of the existing literature concerning the Dakota culture and problems would comprise another thesis in itself, and for the present purposes, would endanger one in becoming overly involved in detail. The literature reviewed for this study may be classified into two sections: that which is selected and reviewed in support of, or from which the hypotheses were derived, and, secondly,

that which deals with the Dakota Indians in a more general nature and was of some help to the author. More literature than appears here has been reviewed. The sources listed have been selected partly on the basis of quality and authenticity of the material.

A study conducted by Gordon Macgregor revealed that the first adults on the reservation, who are now the grandparents, "instilled in their children the belief that the customs, values, and glories of Dakota life were the best, and the best for all young Dakota".⁶ An important part of the training in the moral code came from these old virtues of Dakota life. This moral code was summarized in the virtues of bravery, fortitude, generosity and wisdom or moral integrity.⁷ Mirsky finds a similar set of virtues with the exception of one. "The four virtues of the Dakota are generosity and hospitality, bravery and fortitude."⁸ Other sources in which some, or all, of the four selected virtues are mentioned were found. Bryne⁹ renders accounts of the suffering and fortitude of the Dakota while defying surrender to the American Army during its offensive against them. Walker¹⁰ lists bravery, generosity, truthfulness and begetting children as the four great virtues of the

⁶Gordon Macgregor, Warriors Without Weapons, p. 106.

⁷Ibid., pp. 106-107.

⁸Jeanette Mirsky, "The Dakota," Cooperation and Competition Among Primitive Peoples, Margaret Mead, ed., p. 426.

⁹P. E. Bryne, The Red Man's Last Stand, p. 208.

¹⁰J. R. Walker, "The Sun Dance and Other Ceremonies of the Oglala Division of the Teton Dakota," Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, XVI, Part II, pp. 160-161.

Lakota.¹¹ Standing Bear¹² speaks of the virtues of wisdom and truthfulness in nature, the vision quest and other religious activities. Finally, Goldfrank¹³ suggests ways in which the virtues of generosity and bravery find expression even today.

Sources of general information to the author were written studies, scholarly journals, historical-descriptive accounts and narratives by both Indian and non-Indian authors. They will be listed in their respective orders.

Studies pertinent to the particular area and people of the present study have dealt in the topics of: the effectiveness of the Pine Ridge educational program,¹⁴ implications and problems of acculturation for the Dakota Indian,¹⁵ assimilation of the Indian to city life,¹⁶ the concept of time in the Dakota culture and Western civilization,¹⁷ and the

¹¹The term Lakota refers to the Sioux living west of the Missouri River who substituted the "L" for the "D" in their speaking.

¹²Luther Standing Bear, Land of the Spotted Eagle, pp. 192-226.

¹³Eather S. Goldfrank, "Historic Change and Social Character: A Study of the Teton Dakota," American Anthropologist, Vol. 45, 1943, p. 82.

¹⁴U. S. Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Education for Better Living, by George Allan Dale, Phoenix: Phoenix Indian School Print Shop, 1955.

¹⁵Vernon D. Malan, Acculturation of the Dakota Indians, Department of Rural Sociology, South Dakota State College, Pamphlet No. 119, (June, 1955).

¹⁶Frank Lovrich, "The Assimilation of the Indian in Rapid City," (unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Sociology, University of South Dakota).

¹⁷Clyde McCone, "Time and Tide: A Study of the Conflicting Concepts of Time of the Dakota Indian and Western Civilization," (unpublished Masters thesis, Department of Sociology, South Dakota State College).

psychotherapy of a Plains Indian.¹⁸

Germane articles to this study were found in journals and collections and yielded information under the following aspects: notes on some of the customs of Dakota Sioux,¹⁹ the doctrine of the Ghost Dance together with a Sioux glossary,²⁰ the avoidance-respect relationships of the Teton Dakota kinship system,²¹ a socio-cultural interpretation of the Peyote cult,²² delinquency of the American Indian,²³ notes on Siouan cults,²⁴ religion among American Indians,²⁵ general history and

¹⁸George Devereux, Reality and Dream.

¹⁹The Miscellaneous Documents of the House of Representatives for the Second Session of the Forty-ninth Congress, "Notes on Customs of the Dakotahs," by Paul Beckwith, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1887. (245-257)

²⁰Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, "The Ghost-dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890," by James Mooney, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1890. (653-974)

²¹Royal B. Hassrick, "Teton-Dakota Kinship System," American Anthropologist, XLVI, 1944, pp. 338-347.

²²Bernard Barber, "A Socio-Cultural Interpretation of the Peyote Cult," American Anthropologist, Vol. 43 (October-December, 1941), pp. 673-675.

²³Hans von Hentig, "The Delinquency of the American Indian," Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology, XXXVI (July-August, 1945), pp. 75-84.

²⁴Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Vol. 2, "A Study of Siouan Cults," by James Owen Dorsey, Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1894, (361-500)

²⁵Ruth Underhill, "Religion Among American Indians," The Annals, Vol. 311 (May, 1957), pp. 127-136.

conditions,²⁶ personality and social organization of the Dakots,²⁷ cultural significance of the Ghost Dance,²⁸ observations on Sioux education,²⁹ and other articles of more general information.³⁰

Historical-descriptive accounts include the following: relations between the United States and the Sioux Indian dating back to 1803 and including proceedings of legality and policies,³¹ the era of white-Indian wars,³² the assault and subterfuga by the United States against the tribal and intertribal religions,³³ present transitions on the study community,³⁴ and two more general accounts of Plains Indian culture.³⁵

²⁶Schoolcraft, Henry R., Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States, Vol. 2, Philadelphia: Lippincott, Grambo and Company, 1852.

²⁷Herbert Spencer, Descriptive Sociology, Vol. VI.

²⁸Alexander Lesser, "Cultural Significance of the Ghost Dance," American Anthropologist, Vol. 35 (January-March, 1933), pp. 198-215.

²⁹Erik Homburger Erikson, "Observations on Sioux Education," The Journal of Psychology, VII (January, 1939), pp. 191-256.

³⁰Fifteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology to the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Vol. 15, "Siouan Sociology," by James Owen Dorsey, (213-254), and "The Siouan Indians," by W. J. McGee, (157-213), Washington: U. S. Government Printing Office, 1894.

³¹Lucy E. Textor, United States and the Sioux Indians, (official relations between).

³²P. E. Bryne, op. cit.

³³John Collier, The Indians of the Americas, (esp. pp. 224-242).

³⁴Robert H. Ruby, The Oglala Sioux.

³⁵Ruther Underhill, Red Man's America, (esp. pp. 163-185), and Robert H. Lowie, Indians of the Plains.

Some narratives, but non-theless extremely interesting and pertinent material, appear over the authorship of Standing Bear,³⁶ an autobiographical account by Eastman,³⁷ Deloria,³⁸ Neihardt,³⁹ Brown,⁴⁰ and McCreight.⁴¹

Definition of Terms.

Culture has been variously defined by social scientists. Perhaps one of the most sweeping definitions is that which states that culture is all the creations of man or everything man-made. Another has it that culture is a historically created, group shared transmitted design for living.⁴² Often one thinks of culture only on the bases and impressions one gathers by observing the outward manifestations of it in the form of behavior. Actually this observation glosses over ideas, beliefs and values which are equally important in a definition of culture. The way we think and believe are unique to our own soci-cultural environment. Hence, our cosmic outlook is likewise unique. What motivates us

³⁶ Luther Standing Bear, op. cit., and My People the Sioux.

³⁷ Charles A. Eastman, Indian Boyhood, From the Deep Woods to Civilization and The Indian Today.

³⁸ Ella Deloria, Speaking of Indians.

³⁹ John G. Neihardt, Black Elk Speaks.

⁴⁰ Joseph Epee Brown, The Sacred Pipe.

⁴¹ H. I. McCreight, Firewater and Forged Tomahawks.

⁴² Clyde Kluckhohn and William H. Kally, "The Concept of Culture," The Science of Man in the World Crisis, in Ralph Linton (ed.), p. 98.

as human beings is largely a matter of cultural values.

The sociologist conceives of values as an observable variable in human conduct, not with an appraisal of various values as being better or worse than others. On this basis then, we would posit that values are relative to the social milieu and there is no known absolute standard by which values can be judged cross-culturally. Value is "any aspect of a situation, event or object that is invested with a preferential interest as being 'good', 'bad', 'desirable' and the like."⁴³ Some important distinguishing criteria or qualities of values are:⁴⁴ (1) Values have a conceptual element. "They are more than pure sensations, emotions, reflexes or so-called needs. They are abstractions gleaned from the total flux of the individual's immediate experience." (2) Values are charged with affect; they represent actual emotional mobilization. (3) Values are not the concrete goals of action, but rather the criteria by which goals are chosen.

Because values guide human action to a large extent, they are modes of organizing conduct. "Social values, however, not only are shared by a number of individuals but are regarded as matters of collective welfare by an effective consensus of the group."⁴⁵ Such values are the core of the moral code. The term, moral code has been used in two different senses.

⁴³Robin Williams, American Society, p. 374.

⁴⁴Loc. cit.

⁴⁵Robin Williams, op. cit., p. 375.

Sometimes it means those rules of conduct which are held by the group or community to be right and proper and which they impose on aberrant members by various degrees of the same sanctions which are the guardians of customs in general. In this sense morals are simply those customs the violation of which is regarded in the community as definitely wrong--in a word, they are what we have learned to call mores. In the stricter sense the moral code is that body of rules which the individual 'conscience' upholds as constituting right or good conduct....⁴⁶

The former usage of the term, moral code, is the more inclusive and that which the author wishes to use in this study. It enables one to view the individual in a structure. The violator of the former incurs social sanctions, while the violator of the latter develops approbrium. The former and the latter are often coincidental, but not necessarily. The moral code in the broader sense characterises the community.

Values are a lubricant of social relationships. When a group agrees to a minimal core of values with some enthusiasm, one of the requisites to the formation of a society⁴⁷ is met. A value system merely implies that there is to be found some arrangement, relationship or interconnection between a given set of values. To a large extent, values are the regulative elements of social institutions. In this sense they may be referred to as cultural norms which refers to "a specific prescription of the course that action should (is supposed to) follow in a given situation."⁴⁸ Values play an important role in not only determining

⁴⁶ Robert MacIver, Society, p. 251.

⁴⁷ Society may be thought of "as a collection of persons adhering to the same set of ultimate values and pursuing the same set of common ends." (Kingsley Davis, Human Society, p. 143.)

⁴⁸ Williams, op. cit., p. 24.

and limiting the means to a particular goal, but what the goal shall be.⁴⁹

A virtue is something, the doing of which is upholding a moral value. For example, if generosity is a moral value, then giving is ipso facto a virtue.

Religion, for the purposes of this study, may be defined as a system of ritual actions in which or through which the ultimate value system is periodically reaffirmed.⁵⁰

Social disorganization may be thought of as a decrease of the influence of existing social rules and values of the society upon the individual.

A conflict of values will be used as the opposition between two or more groups' value systems, in which malaise accrues to the individual as a result of the inability to choose between or within the two value systems in which a choice in one means frustration with regard to the other. Conflict of norms is closely related. It emphasizes rules of conduct rather than choice as does a conflict in values. "A conflict of norms is said to exist when more or less divergent rules of conduct govern the specific life situation in which a person may find himself."⁵¹

⁴⁹The author finds that the literature is not clear in regard to the relationship between values and norms. Some authors state that a value is a norm and that a norm is impossible without a value. Others state that there is a difference in that norms are designed to support certain values.

⁵⁰Wilson and Kolb, op. cit., p. 651.

⁵¹Thorsten Sellin, Culture Conflict and Crime, p. 29.

When a choice of value is made, the concomitant norm, or norms, is automatically chosen also (at least this is ideally true).

Relation to Sociological Theory

The theories of culture contact and change and value conflict as a source of social disorganization have been instrumental to the formulation of the problem of this study. Culture is integrative, "the elements of a given culture tend to form a consistent and integrated whole."⁵² However, contact with a dominant culture and the resulting changes may bring a new pattern of values that is coercive and persistent. Change is not easy when the traditional values are still highly cherished, and the new values are regarded with suspicion. The resultant lack of consistent definition of the expected social roles can be regarded as social disorganization in a social group.

Culture contact and change are closely related to value conflicts. Sellin states that "Conflicts of cultures are inevitable when the norms of one cultural or subcultural area migrates to or comes in contact with those of another...."⁵³ In addition to creating conflicts, contacts between two cultural groups often generate change. Washburne lists culture contact as one of the important agents in social change in America.⁵⁴

⁵²Wilson and Kolb, op. cit., p. 70.

⁵³Sellin, op. cit., p. 63.

⁵⁴Norman F. Washburne, Interpreting Social Change in America, p. 39.

Culture contact often nurtures doubts in the minds of the society members concerning the indigenous values or introduces ideas and ways not hitherto conceived. When this occurs some disorganization follows and a period of reorganization is needed. We turn to Louis Wirth in an effort to clarify the meaning of the concept of social disorganization.

If a society is a set of common understandings, a system of reciprocally acknowledged claims and expectations expressed in action, it follows that a human aggregation cannot be regarded as a society until it achieves this capacity for collective action, although it may manifest a high degree of symbiotic or functional interdependence between the individuals composing it. Such an aggregate may constitute a community without being a society. It follows further that the degree to which the members of a society lose their common understandings, i.e., the extent to which consensus is undermined, is the measure of that society's state of disorganization. The degree to which there is agreement in its explicit rules and in the preferences its members manifest with reference to these rules, furnishes us with criteria of the degree to which a society may be said to be disorganized.

A major type of social disorganization is that characterized by conflicts between norms. Such conflicts are rare in stable, compact, and homogeneous societies, as an abundance of literature from primitive and folk societies indicates, but in societies in rapid or sudden change either through migration, change in technology, or basis of subsistence, subjected to contact with alien groups, or brought within the influence of modern civilization, there appear wide chasms between the old and the new, the indigenous and the imported, the traditional and the deliberately imposed systems of values and codes of conduct. Colonization, conquest, immigration, the invasion of industry, and the impact of whatever content the modern mass-communication devices carry to the ends of the earth, may bring about cleavages in the systems of values of a formerly integrated society. In such cases, disorganization may be the product of the tensions arising out of the attempt to conform to mutually contradictory norms coexisting within a single system and calling for incompatible responses to a given situation.⁵⁵

⁵⁵ Louis Wirth, "Ideological Aspects of Social Disorganization," American Sociological Review, Vol. 5 (August, 1940), pp. 473-474.

This study will be concerned with the convergence of Western and Dakota societies and the resulting conflict of value systems which will provide an index to social disorganization. We can now approach our problem more closely as it relates to these theories by suggesting hypotheses regarding culture change and value conflict in the contact between the Dakota culture and Western civilization.

Hypotheses

The essential ideas suggested by the theories of culture change and value conflict can be related to this study in the following hypotheses:

1. The traditional value system in Dakota culture was consistent and caused the individual in the society little conflict.
2. The value systems of American society (Western civilization) are inconsistent and cause the individual members much conflict.
3. The changes in Dakota culture resulting from contact with Western civilization produced conflicts in the Dakota value system.
4. A conflict in value systems within this framework of culture change is largely responsible for the symptoms of disorganization in Dakota Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

Although the above hypotheses are too broad to be tested, they lend a frame of reference to this study. Hypotheses numbers one and two will be elucidated in Chapters II and III, while hypotheses numbers three and four will be broken into sub-hypotheses and tested in Chapter IV of this thesis. The conclusions, criticisms and implications of the study will be presented in Chapter V.

Description and Method of the Field Study

All of the field work for the study was done during the period of June 10, 1957 - August 31, 1957. Two organized communities adjacent to the Kyle reserve located on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in Southwestern South Dakota were selected as the area of study. These communities were not selected because of a high incidence of conflict in value systems, but because of economy and their accessibility from the living quarters of the field worker at the residence of the local county agent. These communities also happened to be the area in which the field worker was working collecting socio-economic data for another study. Other than for these reasons there was no partiality toward this particular area of study--several other communities could have been selected and used. The communities have been organized by the county agent to provide units of community development. They are delimited by some natural boundaries in the form of creeks as the map in Appendix C indicates.

The study community⁵⁶ of the Kyle vicinity is located approximately in the center of the Pine Ridge Reservation. It is entirely rural. When compared with the majority of other communities in other counties in South Dakota, it is relatively isolated. Services are few. Only a few short distances of roads are graveled, a few more are graded but

⁵⁶ Community as used here refers to the combined area of the two communities, Upper and Lower Medicine Root, from which the data were gathered. The term excludes the Kyle settlement or reserve. The information that follows was gleaned largely from the data collected from the socio-economic survey headed by Dr. Malen.

are soil surfaced, and the majority are ungraded dirt. No railroads or bus lines transect the community. There is no rural electrification service and telephone service is provided only to the settlement of Kyle. Few labor-saving conveniences such as refrigerators and mechanical washing machines are found, although 46 per cent own radios. Two private electric plants are found in Kyle and one more in the remainder of the community. Mail is brought in daily to the Trading Post in the Kyle settlement. As nearly as could be determined, the population of the community numbers about 200.⁵⁷

The average distance from the community to the agency is fifty-three miles; to the hospital, fifty-four; and movie (theatre), forty-two. The store, school and church are all within twelve miles of any home within the community. Only 37 per cent of the families in the community own automobiles. Two churches are located in the community. One, an Episcopal, is Upper Medicine Root, and a Catholic, in Lower Medicine Root. Another Catholic Church is found in Kyle together with the government day school, a clinic and nurses residence, a cafe, trading store, garage, county agent's office and residence and a few more scattered houses.

The homes are small, two rooms on the average, and of log and/or frame construction. The average number of people found per family at the time of the study was approximately four. However, this is not the average completed family size. It does not include those children who are already grown and have left the community. The average number of years of formal education was approximately six years for the husband and five and one-half for the wife. Seventy-one percent of the husbands and wives

⁵⁷ This figure is conservative and, again, excludes the Kyle Reserve.

were "full bloods" or of pure Indian extraction. A few kinship cliques exist (that is, a concentrated area in which people are closely related or more closely related than they are to the more distant neighbors, and where a good deal of visiting and sharing takes place). Sharing within the community takes place on a relatively larger scale when compared with white communities.

Approximately 78 per cent of the land is grazing and the remainder is farming. Much of it stands idle or it is leased out. There is very little agricultural activity on the part of the Indian and he has practically no equipment, let alone the "know how". Almost all families were raising a garden. Many of them supplemented their diets with wild fruits, berries and turnips which are gathered or dug in the proper seasons. The Indians own very few cattle, but horses and dogs are usually found at every home. There is no other livestock. Only a few chickens are raised.

Health standards and conditions, both environmentally and physically, are sub-normal. Income is very low and employment even lower.

Much visiting occurs. It is both individually initiated informally and formally planned in advance such as the community "get-togethers" at Kyle. During the latter event colorful dancing, visiting and eating are the highlights.

An interview schedule was prepared prior to leaving for the study area. Most of the questions were limited to a "yes" or "no" response. It may therefore be said that the schedule was highly structured in that no questions were left open-ended. However, a sufficient amount of space was left at the end of the schedule in which to take notes.

A "don't know" category was also used although it does not appear on the schedule. If no response was elicited the question was left blank. The schedule was made brief in order to elude boredom. The moral code of the Dakota, cited previously, was translated into a concrete frame of reference. That is, each value being studied was investigated in terms of, or as it related to, modes of action or belief. For example: "Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when one marries or dies)?" The values of Western society were also translated into a like question form. By this method it was intended to keep the questions from being vague and couched in terms unfamiliar to the respondent.

Respondents' answers which indicate approval of both value systems are associated with greater disorganization, and responses indicating approval of one value system are associated with less disorganization. If an indication of a condition of disorganization is revealed by the above method, one expects that the individuals involved will seek some immediate source of activity which will provide the seeker with a degree of vital life meaning and security. Participation in either or both the Yuvipi and Peyote cults has been chosen as such activities. The former represents somewhat of a reversion to an activity which was meaningful and satisfying in the past, while the latter is of a more recent appearance.

A second interview schedule was administered in conjunction with that of this study. It was designed to elicit information concerning socio-economic status.⁵⁸ The questions on it were always asked first

⁵⁸Vernon D. Malan, "The Dakota Indian Family," (unpublished manuscript, Department of Sociology, South Dakota State College).

since that seemed to be the more logical sequence.⁵⁹ Some of the data yielded by this study will be used since it offers information on age, Indian ancestry, education and socio-economic scores of the respondent which may have some relationship to his responses on the interview schedule used in the present study.

It was decided to interview the male member who seemed to be the head of the house or dwelling unit. In the event of more than one family living in a single dwelling or more than one dwelling on the immediate location, the male-head of each family was interviewed. This policy was practiced consistently. However, in the event that the male-head was not home or for some other reason not immediately accessible, call-backs were made during the period of the field worker's stay--some of them successfully and others not. In the event that a certain party was not home, but it was known where he could be found, he may have been interviewed wherever it was possible to do so. Where it was evident that either the male-head or the whole family had temporarily or permanently left the community, nothing more could be done about that prospective interviewee. Where the female or mother of the family was accessible, she was interviewed, but only when the male was inaccessible for various reasons. In all but two cases, there was excellent cooperation from the Indian people.

It was intended that a 100% coverage of both communities would be obtained. Thirty-seven completed interview schedules were obtained in the two communities and all these were used. As nearly as could be ascertained there were fifty resident families who were at the time living

⁵⁹ The socio-economic study schedule is found in Appendix B.

in the two communities or who had migrated from the community only temporarily because of the attractions of wage-labor outside of the community or for other related reasons. It was generally agreed that these families would return and were still considered residents of the community "in absentia". Seven homes vacated for this reason were found and therefore could not be reached and included in the present data. Others who were not reached and reasons for their omissions follows: One bachelor was physically incompetent because of auditory failure and general senility; two families were uncooperative; two were young men who had not as yet established themselves as separate families and one had no Indian ancestry at all and was considered "white" by the community consensus.

Both "mixed" and "full" bloods were interviewed. It is important to remember that divisions based on these two classifications are "actually sociological rather than biological groups, standing primarily for the way of living according to Indian or white patterns rather than the actual degree of Indian blood."⁶⁰ Sometimes a "full" blood is arbitrarily defined as anyone having three-fourths Indian blood by ancestry or more and "mixed" bloods are those who have less, but the latter group is more nebulous in terms of actually delineating the amount of Indian blood. The criterion used in the present study was the responses of the respondents to the question: "Are you a full or mixed blood Indian?" Whatever group with whom he identified was the criterion.

No attempt was made to begin interviewing and gathering data

⁶⁰Macgregor, op. cit., p. 25.

immediately upon arrival in the study area. Rather the field worker concentrated on becoming "integrated" into the community by becoming oriented in the work, observing the ecology of the area and becoming acquainted with the general thinking and feeling of the people toward him and his presence. It is important to first gain community acceptance, especially so among a relatively isolated group where a stranger is easily and quickly recognized and sometimes regarded with some wariness.

When interviewing was begun it proceeded slowly and cautiously. It was discovered that it was a mistake to hurry or probe extensively or intensively the respondents, especially on areas in which he feels an intimate involvement or reluctance to emit information. The Indian may also carry a slight suspicion of government employees or anyone carrying recording materials with him. Tactfulness, understanding and rapport are basic pre-requisites to this type of interview situation. Cooperation with the county agent was maintained whenever and wherever possible.

Lower Medicine Root was covered first before moving on to Upper Medicine Root. An Indian interpreter who spoke the language quite fluently accompanied the field worker on nearly all the interview visits. This person was of considerable help in an advisory capacity, translating into the Siowan tongue, making acquaintances and many lesser assistances.

The average actual interview situation lasted from one to three hours, depending on the degree of communication and acceptance. Responses to the interview questions were recorded on the schedule in the presence of the interviewee at the time of the interrogation. In addition, in the

evening or noon hours after the visits had been made, the author kept a diary in which he privately recorded ideas, observations and remarks which were of interest and significance to the study.

CHAPTER II

THE TRADITIONAL VALUE SYSTEM

Short History of the Teton Dakota Indians

✓ The Dakota were the largest group of Indians speaking the Siouan language.¹ The word, Sioux, actually refers to a linguistic group and includes the Assiniboine and Crow as well. The Teton Dakota came to be known as those living west of the Missouri River. The Teton Dakota were divided into seven bands; the Brules, Sans Arca, Blackfoot, Minneconjou, Two Kettle, Hunkpapa and Oglala. Those living on the present day Pine Ridge Reservation derive largely from the Oglala and the Brule bands.

✓ A history of the Teton Dakota must have a beginning point. One need not revert farther than [their arrival on the great plains approximately 250 years ago after being driven out of the woodlands area of Minnesota by the Chippewa.] It is believed that the Dakota may at one time have been agrarian. Although they may have been primarily agriculturists previous to their entrance to the plains, this economy was abandoned in favor of the buffalo hunts made possible by the acquisition of the horse which was acquired from the Arikara by trade.²

[Shortly after they reached the banks of the Missouri River a few contacts with French and Spanish traders occurred in about 1800] although

¹Ruther Underhill, Red Man's America, p. 183.

²Ibid., p. 147.

it is said that the Dakota was introduced to the white man as early as 1620 in the Mississippi and Ohio valleys. [These contacts were usually of a friendly and temporary nature without threat to the Dakots. By 1832, however, many more mule trains were crossing the plains enroute to various destinations. A few skirmishes ensued between the journeyers and the Indian. Usually the war parties of the Dakota were satisfied if they only frightened their intruders away. Few white men understood the meaning of the Indian's warfare, let alone his way of life.³ Hatred and ill-will were not long in developing, with the consequent white avowal to rid the plains of those "red varmints".]

Cont. sub. [The formidableness and persistence of the Dakota warriors were quite commonly recognized by the United States Government and Army. In 1849 the government conceded the whole Indian problem to the Department of the Interior.⁴ Although the Dakota warfare was highly and strategically effective the diminution of the buffaloes forced them to the alternatives of starvation or surrender.⁵ The reservation life that followed was completely new to the Dakota, and he failed to foresee its future consequences upon his social order. The disappearance of the buffaloes, the doling out of rations, the beginning of the boarding schools and the Allotment Act of 1887 all served to confound the Dakota and his former way of living.⁶ During the early years of reservation

³Ibid., p. 168.

⁴Ibid., p. 169.

⁵John Collier, The Indians of the Americas, p. 225.

⁶Macgregor, op. cit., pp. 36-38.

life the Indian became painfully aware of his social-psychological impoverishment as a result of the concessions he had been forced to make. [Various laws prohibiting his freedom even in religious expressions agitated the situation even more.] A longing for the old life developed similar to that of the captive children of Israel in the land of Babylon. In 1890 the nostalgia eventuated into the Ghost Dance and subsequent Wounded Knee massacre.⁷

By 1905 the policies of the Indian Bureau had changed and purified considerably and the Dakota had adjusted to cattle ranching, with only short lived prosperity however. By 1915⁺ the herds had vanished, and Indian land sales, encouraged by the government, mounted. Paradoxically enough, during the depression years the average family income was raised through the Civilian Conservation Corps program which continued through 1942.⁸ In 1934 the Indian was restored with a number of responsibilities and privileges through the Indian Reorganization Act.

The Expression of the Moral Code Among the Teton Dakota

Between two societies values which may be common to both may find completely different mediums of expression. For example, a type of vision quest was found among both Zuni and Dakota Indians. However, the meaning which was transmitted and implied by the expression of the vision quest was almost completely unrelated when comparing the two groups. It has also been stated that Indians of different culture areas differed

⁷ Ibid., p. 33.

⁸ Ibid., p. 41.

markedly--just as much as Europeans differ from Asiatics. The discussion which follows is aimed at revealing the uniqueness which the abstract values of bravery, generosity, fortitude and wisdom had for the Dakota Indian and the norms by which these values were supported.

✓ Bravery was perhaps the greatest virtue a Dakota could possess. If one was brave he could transgress in many other things and still keep his tipi within the tiyospaye or circle⁹ and sit in the council of the camp. Bravery was a means of enhancing self-esteem and with it came an elevation in social status within the group. Bravery granted to a man the privileges of leading a war party, officiating as magistrate on civil matters, acting as elder or arbitrator and achieving the role of marshall. The brave man's position on the status "ladder" was enviable. "His voice will be listened to with respect by everyone and all will do him honor. If he has earned the right to wear the quills of the eagle, he will be consulted in all matters relative to the ~~common~~ welfare, and if he may carry the scalp staff or camp stick, the women will sing songs in his praise."¹⁰

Among other activities, the norms supporting bravery required that the able-bodied Dakota engage in warfare. The purposes of their warfare are not entirely clear. Perhaps they were various. Macgregor points out that the statement that "their fighting was a game, with only spoils or honor as the object," needs qualification, for when the Teton

⁹The tiyospaye, or the extended bilateral family group, was the important unit in the social structure. It was composed of individual families who were related by consanguineal ties.

¹⁰Walker, op. cit., p. 160.

Dakota arrived on the plains they found it occupied by the Cheyenne, Arikara, Pawnee, Kiowa, Crow and Mandan.¹¹ These tribes were driven out of the area by Dakota warfare. Like many other institutions, they may be elaborated upon until the original function either becomes latent or is displaced entirely. This may have been true of the warfare institution, and may account for the addition of the rules about whom they might fight and how it must be done. Benedict writes that the warfare of the Plains Indians was a "game in which each individual amassed counts".¹² This was called counting "coup", a term of French derivation. The counts were based on four gradations depending on or commensurate with the danger involved in the act. The first was for striking or even touching a live enemy in the course of battle. The second was for touching a dead enemy who was surrounded by his comrades who defended his scalp. The third was for cutting loose a picketed horse belonging to the enemy with the danger of attackers rushing out from every lodge. After these came killing and scalping which, after all, could be done with little harm to the perpetrator. With the accumulation of these honors came the proper insignia and the right to belong to certain societies or the right to perform certain acts at ceremonies. It may be noted that by touching an enemy warrior the Dakota believed that he could actually absorb or steal some of his valiancy. It might also be observed that the exceptionally brave man was thought to contain some wakan (something supernatural). At other times such individual initi-

¹¹Macgregor, op. cit., p. 30.

¹²Ruth Benedict, Patterns of Culture, pp. 89-90.

ative, self-reliance and intrepidity were exemplified by the lone warrior escapade or guerrilla warfare.¹³ Their fathers and sisters sometimes urged them to join war parties or to take fantastic vows of bravery including the suicide oath after which, if he lived, the brave's honors were even magnified. Often the warrior was accompanied in battle by his guardian spirit. Often a fetish was carried which he had acquired through suffering of a sacred nature.¹⁴ Since horses became symbols of wealth in Dakota society, they were often the motive for war if they could not be stolen. Every brave of importance needed at least forty or fifty animals for gifts, display and bride price. Of course, horses were also indispensable to warfare itself. The triumphal return of the braves with their horses following a battle and the celebration in the camp are now echoes of the past.

√ The beginning of reservation life meant a drastic curtailment of the expression of the bravery value. The following autobiographical incident of Standing Bear tells of the adjustment which he attempted in shifting the value of bravery to a new situation and circumstances.

When I went East to Carlisle School, I thought I was going there to die; nevertheless, when father confronted me with the question, 'Son, do you want to go far away with those white people?', I unhesitatingly said, 'Yes'. I could think of white people wanting little Lakota children for no other reason than to kill them, but I thought here is my chance to prove that I can die bravely.¹⁵

¹³ Loc. cit.

¹⁴ Dorsey, op. cit., pp. 498-499.

¹⁵ Standing Bear, Land of the Spotted Eagle, p. 68.

Perhaps, on horseback in the present day rodeo or by enlisting in the armed services of the United States, the Dakota brave recaptures some of the glamour, social approval and rewards of his people of the past.¹⁶ To some Dakota on the reservation, bravery has come to mean the adopting of white living patterns and the divorcement of the old ways. This is done only under the censuring eyes of many of his neighbors and relatives who look upon him as a "progressive".

The virtue of generosity was another of great importance in Dakota culture. A generous man would be forgiven all transgressions except that of being a liar or a coward. The norms supporting generosity required that a man give and share. By giving his possessions a man testified to his generosity and by giving to the shamans he was sacrificing and placating the gods. A man who gave to the needy was respected by all. It has been said that, "It is impossible to live the true Dakota life and accumulate possession".¹⁷ It has also been said that giving was a matter of expediency within the Dakota economy because such a commodity as buffalo meat, from which they gained all their subsistence, could not be kept long and the best way to dispose of it was to give it or invest it in the stomach of another with the anticipation of some return at a later date. But the fact that such a staple was perishable is not an inclusive explanation of the institution of generosity. The Dakota

¹⁶Goldfrank, op. cit., p. 82.

¹⁷Mirsky, op. cit., p. 388.

sometimes gave with complete abandon and never calculatingly.¹⁸ The giving of property seemed to be an act of honoring someone and it seemed that the more one gave the more one had--gifts always flowed back to the giver in due time. The giving of gifts was called for in a number of special occasions and usually accompanied or was closely related to many of the religious observances.

Sharing is also implied in the value of generosity. It was generally held among the Dakota that if one suffered, all suffered, and if one prospered, all prospered. Property was both communally and individually owned but its possession was of little importance, rather it was regarded as something to give.¹⁹ This view of property is nearly diametrically opposed to that of Western civilization where property enhances the self by the having of it.

Perhaps this one value still ranks high among Dakota today for, although poverty is excessive on the reservation, sharing and giving have not been directly suppressed by law or the authorities nor have the changed social conditions made the expression of this virtue as impracticable as, for example, bravery. Because this value is still so widely adhered to and practiced and because its limits are nearly boundless when compared to the sharing concept of Western civilization, it is perhaps a signal factor in the maintenance of social solidarity and also in the difficulty of transition to white patterns. Among Western people, economic well-being is very closely tied to personal

¹⁸Deloria, op. cit., p. 69.

¹⁹Mirsky, op. cit., p. 385.

adjustment and happiness. The recognition that one received formerly in the giving of possessions in the tiyospaye is of course gone and this may somewhat discourage the practice. It might also be noted in conclusion that in this type of socio-economic structure (such as existed in the tiyospaye) there was no real need for saving in Western fashion where the individual's accumulation of wealth often exceeds his lifetime demands. The Dakota did utilize methods of preserving food for consumption during the winter season but never to the point of conspicuousness.

To beget children was a Dakota virtue somewhat akin to generosity or a form of it. An old Indian adage said, "A man or woman with many children has many homes".²⁰ By having many children the Buffalo god was pleased and if the husband desired that his wife be fecund and true to him he in turn would secure the favor of this god who presided over love, chastity and fecundity. The female was encouraged to testify to generosity through hospitality, an explicit adornment of the Buffalo ceremony which was usually given in honor of a young maiden at the commencement of menstruation and to which all the virtuous women were invited. Hospitality, as the Dakota defined it, meant that almost anyone was always welcomed in the tepee of another and he would be assured of the finest comfort and fellowship.

Fortitude was a virtue which was closely related to bravery, yet it had somewhat of a distinct meaning. "It was not only courage in battle but the enduring courage which enabled them to accept long hard-

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Standing Bear, op. cit., p. 163.

ships and suffer pain and the self-inflicted torture of their ceremonials."²¹ Bryne makes these comments: "Nothing could surpass the wonderful fortitude displayed by the Indian in the last year of his losing fight against the whites. The terrible sufferings he endured for lack of food and shelter can never be known."²² The hardships entailed in the dancing of the last four days of the Sun Dance challenged the Sun Dancers and symbolized to the Dakota the observance of fortitude and endurance in their ceremony.

Undoubtedly, this value still persists to some extent. It may account somewhat for the apparent endurance and success of the Indian youth in the athletic cross-country runs in high school and college. Perhaps it more accurately explains to some extent the ability of the Dakota to bear the living conditions, lack of food and the sickness on the reservations today. Even Dakota women will be ashamed today if they cry out in parturition and Dakota children are generally stoical, that is, they will endure an unpleasant situation without admittance to it or complaint. The petitioner in the vision quest considered it desirable and essential to fast and inflict torture upon himself in order to invite communication with the supernatural.

Wisdom, in a sense, encompasses all the virtues mentioned above since it was a wise man who displayed generosity, bravery and fortitude. Wisdom was usually distinguished from knowledge which usually means factual information or technical "know how". The norms supporting wisdom

²¹ Macgregor, op. cit., pp. 106-107.

²² Bryne, op. cit., p. 208.

required that one seek it through the vision-quest, a sacred rite of the Dakotas used to implore the spirits for help in one's career. "A man had, literally, no hope of success unless he convinced himself, through a trance-like experience, that some power was with him."²³

In a broader sense wise men were venerated because they had proven themselves brave through many battles and sat on the councils and spoken well with insight and sound judgment. Priests and shamans were generally considered very wise because of their knowledge of the sacred beliefs and rituals of the group. They were usually selected to act as mentors to the youth.

Closely related to wisdom was the virtue of truthfulness. "If one is a liar his voice will not be listened to by anyone and he cannot lead in anything. Even the Gods will forsake him and the winds will hide the spirit trail from his spirit."²⁴ Again, an old Lakota adage said, "A Lakota may lie once, but after that no one will believe him."²⁵

The general prestige of women was a reflection of the above mentioned virtues exhibited by her husband. In addition, the highest virtues of women were "industry, hospitality, kindness, and chastity among unmarried girls and fidelity and fecundity among wives."²⁶

These then were the more important values and some of the accompanying norms specifying how the values "ought" to be attained.

²³Underhill, op. cit., p. 159.

²⁴Welker, op. cit., p. 161.

²⁵Standing Bear, op. cit., p. 159.

²⁶Macgregor, op. cit., pp. 90-91.

"looked upon as discreet units, these ideas (values) may be regarded as cultural elements, which fit into patterns or configurations of ideas, which tend to become fixed into integrated systems of meanings."²⁷

Values and the Religious System

Relatively little is known about the religion of the Dakots Indians. Since it was not manifested in an institutionalized form, some authors do not agree on its characteristics. A description of the Dakots religion is introduced into this discussion primarily under the rationale that: (1) one of the functions of a religion is the reaffirming of the group's ultimate value system; (2) it tends to give meaning, purpose and motivation to life; (3) usually it is inextricably interwoven with the moral code and gives it sanction (especially a "this worldly" religion that deals with the relationships of man to man as well as man to the supernatural); and (4) many religions contain an element of "social interaction and social participation which gives to the individual a sense of security and membership in a larger group not attained regularly in other institutions."²⁸ A logical starting point to the Dakots religion begins with the concepts of mana and taboo.

The malenesian word mana has been standardized by anthropologists to refer to a widespread primitive belief in some invisible force pervading the universe. It can be focused on any object, animate or inanimate, endowing that object, for the time being, with supernatural power. Sacred places, objects used in ceremony, or human beings under certain circumstances can be imbued with this power. The Siouan word wakan, and the Algonquian manitou all refer to it, and many other tribes have the concept if not the name.

²⁷ Sellin, op. cit., p. 25, parentheses mine.

²⁸ Macgregor, op. cit., p. 102.

.... (Taboo) regards the focus of power as uncatchable, not because it is unseen, but because it belongs to the supernatural world with which contact may be dangerous.

It can be seen that there is a close relationship between these two concepts. He who was endowed with magic or had been in contact with the supernatural power must negate the danger by withdrawing both from human society and from bodily activity. The definition of both concepts seem to be applicable to the Bahá'í religion. "A further acquaintance with their scriptures has (the observer) that they are pantheists of no ordinary kind--that their pantheism is negative as well as positive, and that the negations of religion are even more numerous than the true affirmations."³⁰ The Bahá'ís believed that there were both good and bad spirits which pervaded the universe. "The distinction of evil among the Bahá'ís may be called legion. Their special delight is to make men despicable or to destroy him."³¹ The good spirits were the protectors of the individual and were accredited with the desirable or good happenings. The focus of power of these gods or spirits, if it be in an animate or inanimate object or a power such as the wind, meant that the object or force itself was not the god but merely the embodiment of it. The location of the thing was unpredictable and its course capricious. Nothing is a term which nearly defies explanation in precise language.

²⁹ Ruth Sutherland, "Religion among American Indians," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 309-311 (January-May, 1957), p. 126.

³⁰ ibid., pp. 415, p. 431.

³¹ ibid., p. 433.

"He can turn expresses the full meaning of the Dakota's Wakan. It comprehends all mystery, secret power and divinity.... All life is Wakan. So also is everything which exhibits power, whether in action... or in passive endurance, as the bowld er by the wayside."³² The term was very precise and in general, as close as it can be defined in our ecological language, it means anything wonderful, incomprehensible or supernatural. The intrusive wakan tanka accounted for the appearance of the buffaloes, the storms, exceptional bravery or wisdom in men, and peculiar and otherwise inexplicable behavior.

✓ By our standards, the Indian's outlook on the universe was religiously unorthodoxed or unsystematized, that is, when compared with that of Western civilization. An indication of child outlook was the fact that all living things were regarded as two-leggeds, four-leggeds and wingeds. They were all treated as fellow beings.³³

Some of the principle deities of the Dakotas were the Sun (chief god), Buffalo (his consort), Sky (male power), Earth (female power), Rock, Water, Thunder, Woyoka (anti-natural) and other lesser deities. Prayers and sacrifices were made to them. Two ways in which these deities or spirits could be approached were by vision and by ceremony. One of the functions of ceremony and vision is to impress upon the individual the moral precepts of the culture. "Above all, they serve to identify the individual with his groups, his community, and his

³²Ibid. ibid.

³³Thomson, op. cit., p. 129.

nation, thus supporting and intensifying his loyalties."³⁴

The vision quest (Hanndepi) or god-seeking was a process by which every boy, and a few girls, hoped for supernatural help to guide his career and insure success. It is interesting to note that the supernatural came to girls by a process of maturation (at the onset of menstruation). However, the experience came to the boy only after seclusion and fasting. The vision quest could be sought during any period of life even though it was usually sought by the young. The steps in the process were as follows: (1) purification of the seeker in the Inipi or sweat bath, (2) a three-day fasting period, (3) seclusion, and (4) going through as many of the four steps of bodily sacrifice as practiced in the Sun Dance which will be described later.³⁵

The vision experience usually provided answers for the individual petitioner concerning problems of life. The experience has been explained in psychological terms ranging from dreams to delirium and hallucinations. Actually, the form, whether a wild dream or hallucination, was authentic to the individual usually after being interpreted as significant by the shaman.

Probably the most important ceremony of all was the Sun Dance, for it was the most inclusive symbolic expression of the Dakota way of life. "In this highly emotionalized atmosphere the adults rededicated themselves to the cultural precepts, and the young people received a vivid education in the meaning and objectives of the life they were

³⁴Robert Bierstedt, The Social Order, p. 205.

³⁵Dorsey, op. cit., pp. 436-437.

to follow."³⁶

One who dances the Sun Dance in its fullest form establishes before the Sun, and in the presence of the people, his possession of the four great virtues.... One who possesses these four virtues should be respected and honored by all the people. Thus, the scars made by the wounds and tortures inflicted during the Sun Dance are honorable insignias.

One who contemplates dancing the Sun Dance should know these things and carefully consider the compliance with the essentials for the performance of the ceremony, for it is done for the benefit of both the dancer and the people. He should endeavor to know whether the people deem his virtues sufficient to enable him to dance the Sun Dance to its completion or not; for, if they think he lacks in one or all of the great virtues, they probably will not become constituents, and he cannot have the ceremony performed.³⁷

These dancers were of excellent character according to Dakota standards. Their failure to fulfil the responsibility they had chosen would mean an embarrassment to the audience. The stages which the dancers could undertake ranged hierarchically with the severity of torture. The fulfillment of the Sun Dance came about when a suspended dancer freed himself of the skewers which pierced his muscles without any assistance.³⁸

³⁶ Collier, op. cit., p. 233.

³⁷ Walker, op. cit., p. 62.

³⁸ According to Walker, the dance may take either of the four forms which are: (1) Gaze-at Sun, (2) Gaze-at-Sun Buffalo, (3) Gaze-at-Sun Staked, (4) Gaze-at-Sun Suspended. In the first form, Gaze-at Sun, the dancer simply dances while gazing at the Sun. Women and children may dance this form because there are no tortures inflicted during the dance. The second, third, and fourth forms each differ from the others only in the manner of the preparatory wounds inflicted upon the dancer to cause the blood to flow and the manner of torture inflicted during the dance. The dancer who undertakes the Sun Dance for the purpose of securing supernatural powers for himself must dance the fourth form suspended.

The Sun Dance was the greatest extravagance of the Plains Indians. Many other tribes might be invited to the perennial event which took place when the buffaloes were fat and the chokeberries were ripening. It was a time of festivity and a time for many "introactive" dances, which can only be mentioned here, such as the Buffalo, Mandan, mystery, ghost and Omaha dances, which enabled the participation of others than the Sun Dancers.³⁹ Other ceremonies also took place such as the children's ear piercing ceremony, in which the child became ~~Hunka~~ Hunka ow child beloved dedicated to the precepts of the Dakota, and the Buffalo ceremony in which the maiden was prepared for womanhood and in which she and the guests dedicated themselves to the virtues of that position.

Introduction of the Christian Religion

The Christian missionaries were among the first Westerners to come in contact with the Dakota culture. If the Dakota Indian understood and accepted the Christian religion in the light of their own religion,⁴⁰ it is also true that the missionaries understood the religion of the Dakota from the concepts of Christianity. Parallelisms between the two religions can be found of course. Contrary to most thinking, however, there was no "happy hunting grounds" as such in the life beyond death for the Dakota.⁴¹ He also speculated very little concerning immortality other than indications of their beliefs in

³⁹ Dorsey, op. cit., p. 463.

⁴⁰ Macgregor, op. cit., p. 92.

⁴¹ Dorsey, op. cit., p. 485.

transmigration and metamorphosis of a kind. The term, Wakan Tanka, has been misconstrued to mean a monotheistic God which again is inaccurate. Some missionaries conceived of the rites and ceremonies of the Dakota in no other manner than "pagan" customs and recommended the legal suppression of them in favor of "Christian" practices and beliefs.⁴²

The White Buffalo Woman was the savior of the Dakota in their mythology. When she appeared to the Dakota, she gave sacred obligations to each age and sex group. Thereafter, it was believed that the people must follow this moral life if they were to escape vengeance and misfortune. Evidently this was one of the reasons which accounted for the slow acceptance of Christianity among the Dakota. "Their acceptance of Christianity was at first, and continues to be to some extent today, an acceptance of the deity of their conquerors and a search for his power, without complete abandonment of the old beliefs."⁴³ "The Process of religious change has been the dying out of the old native religion before the full acceptance of Christianity as the religion of the people."⁴⁴ That the Christian religion was far from a panacea for the Indian is evident. It was not his own, but was somewhat foisted upon him. Indications are that he is looking for his own system of life meaning, born out in part by the Ghost Dance of 1889 and the present day Yuvipi and Peyote cults. Christianity appears to be an inadequate substitution for the old religion of the Dakota, although it also appears to be a

⁴² Collier, op. cit., p. 233.

⁴³ Macgregor, op. cit., p. 92.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p. 93.

communion in many ways. A number of Catholic and Episcopal churches are found on the reservation today.

Transitional Religions

"The only continuing cult of the old Dakota religion is the Tsydpi meeting.... This cult worships manifestations of four chief Dakota gods, and invokes supernatural power for curing the sick and occasionally for finding lost articles."⁴⁵ Although the inclusion of the old elements of the Dakota religion leads one to believe that the cult is entirely vestigial, it also has undergone ^{M. N. S.} amalgamatory changes. Tsydpi has been adapted to the new situations to the point where it may be thought of as a marginal practice implying a fusion of the old "puro" religion and the new needs of the people.

The Peyote cult may be considered as another marginal activity.

"The Peyote religion teaches an ethical doctrine such like those of the monotheistic religions."⁴⁶ and a strict sexual morality and abstinence from liquor. It also makes grand demands as an organized church on marriage and divorce practices, self-reliance (members should work steadily and reliably at their jobs, and earn their own living), brotherly love and the use of money.⁴⁷ In short, in both its beliefs and rituals, the Peyote cult reflectively incorporates both Christian and native religious elements. The communion of the Peyote meeting is the passing

⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 98.

⁴⁶ Merrell, op. cit., p. 136.

⁴⁷ J. S. Blochin, The Dakota Religion, p. 73.

one of the Peyote button (or solution) to be eaten by its members. The Imperial button contains an alkaloid called mescaline which is non-aphrodisiac but has the power of producing hallucinations with intense and varied colors and bringing about a lethargic demeanor on the Peyote worshiper.

It is interesting to note that the acceptance of the limitations of Peyote chronologically followed the failure and suppression of the Ghost Dance. Some of the leading inciters of this nationalistic movement (the Ghost Dance) then turned to Peyote. "The Ghost Dance and the Peyote cult, then may in part be understood as alternative responses to a similar socio-cultural constellation."⁴⁸ They received their impetus from the throes of transition.

One of the outstanding differences between the Peyote and Yowlgi cults is that the former has established itself as an organized church with officials and a policy. The Yowlgi cult is not organized; however, Peyote, Yowlgi, and the Ghost Dance may all be considered marginal phenomena.

The attitude of the missionaries and denominational church leaders toward Yowlgi and Peyote seems to be one of disapproval. The present church leaders also frown on some of the old moral values and norms or at least recommend their mitigation. On the other hand, there is an attempt to salvage and perpetuate the more desirable traits and values.⁴⁹

⁴⁸Barber, op. cit., p. 674.

⁴⁹Information given to the author through conversations with ministers and other Christian leaders of the area.

CHAPTER III

CONTRASTING SOCIAL ORDERSThe Moral Order

Various dichotomic tools have been constructed and employed in attempting to explain the differences between the social orders of "primitive" and modern man.¹ Whatever they are labeled, elements of commonality appear in them even when somewhat different approaches are used.

Recently, Redfield has taken yet another approach to the problem by studying the changing mentality of various folk societies. In this somewhat historical approach the discussion is aimed at survering the question: "What is the basic and primary substance which holds the group together and gives it its order when it is just beginning?" Redfield states that it is the moral order. "In this early condition of humanity (referring to folk or tribal society, terms which he uses interchangeably) the essential order of society, the nexus which held people together, was moral."² "The moral order refers to the organi-

¹ Compare MacIver's primary vs. secondary interests, R. M. MacIver and Charles H. Page, Society; Park's familial ethnic groups vs. territorial or civilizational groups, Robert Ezra Park, Race and Culture; Redfield's folk society vs. modern urbanized society, Robert Redfield, "The Folk Society," The American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 52 (July-May), 293-308; Becker's sacred and secular, Howard Becker and Robert C. Meyers, "Sacred and Secular Aspects of Human Sociation," Constructed Types, (mimeographed); and Odum's folk society vs. state society, Howard Odum, Understanding Society.

² Robert Redfield, The Primitive World and Its Transformations, p. 15.

zation of human sentiments into judgments as to what is right."³ According to Redfield this order is generic and all societies have it. It is the most important social order in all folk societies and remains in command until the group is transformed into a legal, economic or any other type of order. The moral order develops concomitantly with the mores of the group. As Sumner has postulated, the mores are not questioned. They are created and adhered to nonrationally without expediency or reflection.⁴ Yet they are extremely important to the beginning of a social order. They arise out of the sentiments of men as he begins interacting and communicating with his fellowmen. Through this process he comes to make demands on them and they in turn on him. Expectations become structured and a common understanding of what is right develops. In short, moral values or a code is operating. The moral values comprise the code and the adherence to its norms coordinate men's activities. Since man is greatly dependent on other men for his existence and survival, a breach of the moral code was considered a threat to his welfare and grievous wrong to the whole group.

X Groups having this moral order were small, non-literate and non-specialised. In short, they were culturally homogeneous. Kinship was usually the basis for social organization among such groups. Through the intimacy and primary verity of their relationships, the members internalised the moral values which became a vital part of their lives. In such an atmosphere, all the activities of life evidenced a strain toward

³ Ibid., p. 20.

⁴ William Graham Sumner, Folkways, p. 60.

consistency.

One cannot but admire the well-rounded life of the average participant in the civilization of a typical American Indian tribe; the firmness with which every part of that life--economic, social, religious and aesthetic--is bound together into a significant whole in respect to which he (the individual) is far from a passive pawn.⁵

In this socio-cultural milieu the individual found that he was a part of a highly integrated and consistent value system, a factor which psychologists say may account for the paucity of neurosis in primitive cultures. One reason for this, Bierstedt asserts, is the singularity of its structure and norms.

Primitive societies in general do not have more than one set of religious beliefs and practices; they do not have several political parties or political points of view clamoring for recognition; their members conform or do not conform, as the individual case may be, to only one code of morality; they lack a series of diverse standards for judging the artistic achievements of their members; and so throughout the list of various norms. They thus present a more or less unified picture to the observer, and their culture exhibits a high degree of integration. Although individuals may deviate, as they do in all societies, their deviation is from a single set of norms.⁶

The norms of the moral order are communal, that is, they are shared by all of the members of the society.

In the non-institutionalized moral order it is very difficult to delineate where one activity, for example, religious or economic, begins and another ends. Rather the various activities are inextricably

⁵ Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine or Spurious," American Journal of Sociology, Vol. 29, (January, 1924), p. 414, parentheses mine.

⁶ Bierstedt, op. cit., p. 201.

interwoven with one another. To separate one activity out from the others or to pull one away from the others would be impossible except for the purposes of analysis. One might think of a matted ball of yarn, a part of which cannot be separated from the whole. To pick out a few of the tangled strands would necessitate picking up the whole mass. Indeed, it may be erroneous to speak of one compartment of the Dakota's life as being religion. It may be more accurately stated that religious ritual and belief permeated the gamut of activities. A change in religious practices or beliefs, voluntarily or involuntarily, would necessitate changes in other areas of activity thus setting up reverberations within the entire social structure. A delicate interdependence and intereffectiveness seems to have existed between the moral values discussed previously. The doing of one usually invited the doing of them all. One could not be laid aside in lieu of another. They were bound expressions of a moral order.

Civilization

In contrast to the integrated and consistent moral order of small groups some writers introduce the term, "civilization". The factors that distinguish a simple society from a civilization are not definitely established. The point at which a simple society is transformed into a civilization is also tenuous. The general consensus is that civilization is based on interests and territory to which the individual is a citizen rather than kinship in which the person is a relative. The locus of control in civilization is the state. Other controls operate but the state is more omnipotent in terms of finality or coercion on ultimate

matter. In civilization, instead of one pervasively and relatively coherent system of values such as is found in simpler societies, one finds multi-groups or associations each with their own norms and values. In such an order values of various groups may differ and conflict. One's religion may require him to be a pacifist whereas the state demands defense of the territory. The church may demand of a girl conduct that differs from that expected from her on a coed picnic. Business values differ from religious values, family values differ from undergraduate values, political values differ from the values of personal relationship and so on. It may be said that in this sense civilization exhibits a type of compartmentalization.

As has been pointed out earlier, the members of the moral order are bound primarily by common and shared values. In civilization, which Redfield calls the technic-order, individuals are bound by things.

The bonds that co-ordinate the activities of men in the technical order do not rest on convictions as to the good life; they are not characterized by a foundation in human sentiments; they can exist even without the knowledge of those bound together that they are bound together. The technical order is that order which results from the care utilization of the same means. In the technical order men are bound by things, or are themselves things. They are organized by necessity or expediency.

The causes of the transition in which the society is transformed from the moral order to civilization are numerous and the end product of the change is even more profound than the process. Only a brief observation of Julius Lips will detain us here.

⁷Redfield, op. cit., p. 21.

The transition,....was produced by numerous factors, among which inventions, improved means of communication, the growth of population, the interpenetration of cultures, etc., are inextricably mingled and related. Whatever the processes were which resulted in or accompanied this growth, their end produce is a culture which instead of the well-knit social fabric,....shows a multitude of social groups, competitive interests, poorly defined interpersonal relationships, social anonymity, a confusion of norms and a vast extension of impersonal control agencies designed to enforce rules which increasingly lack the moral force which rules receive only when they grow out of emotionally felt community needs. To a large number of persons who live in such a culture, certain life situations are governed by such conflicting norms that no matter what the response of the person in such a situation will be, it will violate the norms of some social group concerned.⁸

The technic-order is further characterized by ways that are rational, expedient and utilitarian. Purposive change (political, educational and social technology), individual gain and progress are factors of great importance. Tradition is of little importance and interpersonal relationships are impersonal. Laws are important instruments in maintaining order.

MacIver, in commenting on the irreversible force of civilization, states that "We have left behind the one-room social habitation of our ancestors. We have built ourselves a house of many mansions. Somehow we must learn to make it ours."⁹

History shows that the transformation of a society with a predominant moral order to civilization has not been without its inclemencies especially when one considers the nature of the majority of the contacts. "In this world-wide Western offensive against the rear-guard

⁸Sellin, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

⁹Robert MacIver, The Web of Government, p. 430.

of the primitive societies, extermination or eviction or subjugation has been the rule and conversion the exception."¹⁰ Under such conditions, assimilation, at best, is difficult.

In summary of the contrasting social orders which have been briefly outlined we have seen how the moral order and civilization are actually two types of normative orders. Values are more highly integrated and functionally interrelated in the moral order than in the civilization since the norms supporting them are communal. Conformity to the communal norms is secured by common understandings and shared sentiments concerning the good life.

In civilization groups are many. Each group has its own norms the demands of which are incumbent only upon its constituency and which may differ and even contradict with those of another group or association. We have now elucidated the hypotheses that: (1) the traditional value system in Dakota culture was consistent and caused the individual in the society little conflict and (2) the value systems of American society (Western civilization) are inconsistent and cause the individual members much conflict. The multi-group association has few, if any, communal norms, but has instead, norms which are associational and lacking in consistency in regard to the values which they support. A normative order based on law and legality is therefore needed to maintain order. Admittedly, this very cursory sketch of the contrasting moral and technic-orders omits other important factors. It is merely intended to reveal

¹⁰Redfield, op. cit., p. 28.

some of the salient differences between the two orders--differences to which the individual is compelled to adjust if he is to sustain the vicissitudes of transformation. We turn now to the actual data revealed by the field work of this study.

CHAPTER IV

ANALYSIS OF THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

Introduction

This chapter will be concerned with the analysis of the results of the data of the field study. Question numbers 12 and 16¹ were omitted from the analysis since they did not discriminate between the Western and Dakota value systems. For more information of the results of the study some additional tables from which the following tables were derived are given in Appendix D.

The sub-topics which follow will each be reported in the following manner: the findings and a discussion of the findings. In addition to analysing and comparing respondents on the basis of the two value systems, they will be compared by the following components or selected characteristics: Community, Education, Indian Ancestry, Age and Socio-economic scores. Other components could have been used, but these were available and seemed to be meaningful. Tables will be presented in the following areas: (1) Acceptance of the Dakota and Western value systems, (2) General characteristics of the respondents in the two communities, (3) General characteristics of the respondents adhering to the Dakota value system, (4) General characteristics of the respondents participating in marginal activities, (5) Participation in marginal activities and responses to the value systems, and (6) Church relatedness.

¹See Appendix A.

Acceptance of the Dakota and Western Value Systems

Table 1 lists the compilations for each question concerning the acceptance or rejection of the norms supporting the value system of Dakota society.

TABLE 1
QUESTIONS BASED ON DAKOTA INDIAN VALUE SYSTEM
FOR
COMMUNITIES A AND B^a

Question	No. of Respondents		Answering: ^b
	yes	no	no res. or don't know
1. Do you feel that you should receive recognition from others when you give money or food or help to those who need it?	17 (46%)	18 (49%)	2 (5%)
2. If you were badly in need of food and someone gave you enough food for your own need, would you share it with other needy relatives?	26 (70%)	10 (27%)	1 (3%)
3. Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when one marries or dies)?	30 (81%)	7 (19%)	0 (0%)
7. Do you think it shows a man's bravery when in battle a man becomes so bold as to touch an enemy (count coup)?	13 (36%)	14 (38%)	8 (26%)
8. Do you think a man is braver if he fights in the front lines in war rather than one who supplies those in the thickest fight?	18 (49%)	11 (30%)	8 (21%)

TABLE 1 - Continued

Question	No. of Respondents Answering:		
	Yes	no	no res. or don't know
11. Do you think it is necessary for a man to bear pain himself as long as he can before he asks for help or relief from someone else (e.g., dancing with the things in one's flesh in the Sun Dance)? (Do you still believe in the old Sun Dance?)	10 (27%)	22 (60%)	5 (13%)
15. If you wanted wisdom would you fast and pray in order that it would come to you?	13 (35%)	22 (60%)	2 (5%)
Average per cent	49%	41%	10%

^aFor the purpose of simplification we shall refer to Lower Medicine Root Community as community "A" and Upper Medicine Root Community as community "B". (See map in Appendix C.)

^bNormally there were 37 respondents to each question on the interview schedule. However, occasionally a question was not applicable to the particular respondent and was therefore not tabulated in one of the following three categories. This explains why the total responses sometimes number less than 37. A "yes" response indicates an acceptance of the traditional Dakota value system in all of the following questions on this table. Therefore, the "yes" response will be referred to as the "correct" responses for the sake of parsimony.

The table is presented with the intention that it will supply the reader with a general picture of the amount of acceptance with which the respondents of both communities replied to the Dakota value system. The table reveals that the questions concerning the norms supporting the Dakota values were answered correctly 49 per cent of the time on the average by the respondents and were rejected 41 per cent of the

time on the average. It will be noted, however, that the questions relating to sharing and generosity (questions numbers 1, 2, and 3) when considered together were accepted by a relatively higher percentage of the respondents.

Table 2 lists the compilations for each question concerning the acceptance or rejection of the norms supporting the value systems of Western civilization. A surprisingly high percentage of the average acceptance of the Western values is noted. Nearly all of these values were accepted with a near 100 per cent correctness.

The tables indicate that the Dakota values were accepted with much less frequency than those of Western civilization. The average of 90.7 per cent on the Western values and 49 per cent on the Dakota values indicates a decline of the influence of the latter upon the individual, a decline that undoubtedly would not have been evident one hundred years ago.

TABLE 2
QUESTIONS BASED ON WESTERN VALUE SYSTEMS
FOR
COMMUNITIES A AND B

Question	No. of Respondents Answering: ^a		
	yes	no	no res. or don't know
4. Do you believe in pledging a part of your income to the church and the work of the church?	35 (95%)	1 (2.5%)	1 (2.5%)
5. Would you say that your first responsibility is to see that your own family (i.e., your wife and children) is adequately clothed, fed and housed?	35 (100%)		
6. Do you believe in saving money for emergencies?	36 (97%)	1 (3%)	
9. Do you feel that a person who lies about you should have it held against him for the rest of his life?	8 (21%)	26 (70%)	3 (9%)
10. If someone harmed a member of your family, would you forgive them without trying to get even?	31 (84%)	4 (11%)	2 (5%)
13. Do you feel that an able bodied man should maintain a regular job if it is at all possible?	36 (100%)		
14. Do you think it is the parents' responsibility to keep their children busy and out of trouble?	32 (89%)		4 (11%)
Average per cent	90.7	5.3	4

^aA "yes" response to all the following questions on this table indicates an acceptance of the Western value systems. The one exception is question number 9 to which "no" indicates an acceptance of the Western value systems. Therefore these responses will be referred to as the "correct" responses.

General Characteristics of the Respondents

in the Two Communities

TABLE 3
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS
IN THE
TWO COMMUNITIES

Selected Characteristics	Community	
	A	B
Education (Average no. of years) ^a	7.83	5.26
Indian Ancestry (Per cent of full bloods)	47.4	100.
Age (Average years)	50	59
Socio-economic Scores (Average) ^b	59.5	47.8
Average No. of Correct Responses on Dakota Value System ^c	3.26	3.66
Average No. of Correct Responses on Western Value Systems ^c	6.16	6.32
No. of Respondents Answering 3 or Less Questions Correctly on Dakota Value System	12	7
No. of Respondents Answering 4 or More Questions Correctly on Dakota Value System	7	11

^aThe average years of education listed may be considered completed years of formal education since all of the respondents were 25 years of age and over and none were attending school.

^bThe socio-economic scores were derived from a scale devised by William H. Sewell which appears in Appendix B of this thesis.

^cOut of a possible 7 questions.

In the above table it will be noted that community B contains a much higher percentage of members who have been classified as full-bloods

in regard to Indian ancestry. The respondents in community B also have a lower average formal education, are older in years and have a lower average socio-economic index score. Some of the reasons for the lower educational level in community B may be: (1) At the time these respondents were of school age there were few schools, (2) There was less encouragement to attend those which did exist and (3) The full-blood members were undoubtedly more reluctant to attend, since schools were an importation and creation of the Westerners.

All of the respondents in community B were of "full-blood" Indian ancestry, while less than one-half of those in community A were so classified. The reasons for this phenomenon may be both obvious and subtle. The full-bloods tended to settle together in a more or less natural area manifesting a sort of consciousness of kind. Many Dakota Indians of pure extraction take great pride in the fact that they are of "full" ancestry, and actually feel superior to the "mixed" group members. The full bloods would tend to perpetuate the old Dakota culture longer and more avidly. This culture was most easily facilitated in a small and close settlement.

The observation of older members in community B may also stem from the fact that it is comprised of more of the members of the old Dakota culture. The older members of a community are usually considered to be more averse to cultural change, but this observation still leaves open the question, "Is the community traditional because of the older members or are the members in the community older because of the traditional setting?" Perhaps these factors are interactionary. The number of full-bloods, however, is steadily decreasing leaving only the older

ones in the community.

Nearly 6 points variance exists between the two communities in regard to average socio-economic scores. This means that community B has less of the services and conveniences as measured on the standard of living scale. It would seem that the traditional community places less importance upon having property and less need of conveniences. Again, it may be stated that they seem to be more reluctant to adopt modern ways and communications. Since community B seems to represent somewhat of a more traditional composition, it would be expected, in light of the discussion of this thesis, that its members would adhere more closely to the values of the Dakota system rather than those of Western civilization.

The question may now be asked, "Is there an association between the total number of correct responses to the value systems and the particular community?" Stated in the null hypothesis¹ form we would say that there is no association between these two attributes. That is, the two attributes are considered independent if the probability of the occurrence of one attribute is the same whether or not a second attribute occurs. To test whether there is an association between these two attributes a four-fold contingency table was constructed and a chi square of significance was used.² Through the use of the chi square analysis we

¹For testing purposes various statisticians recommend the use of the null hypothesis rather than the positive hypothesis. See Robert Ferber, Statistical Techniques in Market Research, pp. 105-107.

²It should be stated that, for best results, at least 50 total cell observations are recommended in a contingency table.

can determine with a high degree of probability whether two attributes are related or associated in a population. An arbitrary 5 per cent level of confidence will be used in all of the following chi square tests at 1 degree of freedom.³

TABLE 4
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CORRECT
RESPONSES TO THE VALUE SYSTEMS AND THE COMMUNITY

Item	Community A	Community B	
Total No. of Correct Responses to Dakota Value System	62	66	128
Total No. of Correct Responses to Western Value System	117	114	231
	179	180	359

$$\chi^2 - .164 \quad P > .05$$

It is immediately apparent that $\chi^2 - .164$ with 1 degree of freedom, is far below the .05 probability level. In other words, the chances are far more than 5 in 100 that the observed values were obtained from a population where the number of questions answered correctly on the value systems is independent of the community purely as a result of sampling variations. Therefore, the null hypothesis has not been disproven.

The next table seeks to test whether or not there is an associa-

³Lillian Cohen, Statistical Methods for Social Scientists, pp-120-128.

tion between the number of respondents in each community answering 3 or less and 4 or more questions correctly on the Dakota value system. The null hypothesis states that there is no association between the number of respondents in each community answering 3 or less and 4 or more questions correctly on the Dakota value system.

TABLE 5
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH COMMUNITY
AND THE NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS TO THE DAKOTA VALUE SYSTEM

Item	3 or Less	4 or More ^a	
No. of Respondents in Community A	12	7	19
No. of Respondents in Community B	7	11	18
	19	18	37

$$x^2 - 2.269 \quad P > .05$$

^aThree or less and 4 or more indicates the number of correct answers to the 7 questions based on the Dakota value system. This is an arbitrary dichomatization.

With 1 degree of freedom, the probability of getting a sample chi square value of 2.269 from a universe with no association between the number of respondents in each community answering 3 or less and 4 or more questions correctly on the Dakota value system is more than 5 per cent. Therefore, at the 5 per cent significance level, we have not disproven the null hypothesis. This value is significant at approximately a 15 per cent level of confidence indicating that an association exists and that this association will be found by chance approximately 15 times out of 100 in that universe.

General Characteristics of the Respondents
to the Dakota Value System

TABLE 6
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS
ANSWERING 3 OR LESS AND 4 OR MORE
QUESTIONS CORRECTLY ON THE
DAKOTA VALUE SYSTEM

Selected Characteristics	3 or Less	4 or More
Education (Average No. of Years)	7.7	6.3
8th Grade and More (No. of Respondents)	10	7
7th Grade and Less (No. of Respondents)	9	11
Indian Ancestry:		
No. of Full Bloods	13	14
No. of Mixed Bloods	6	4
Age (Average Years)	49.7	60.2
50 Years of Age and More (No. of Res's.)	9	14
49 Years of Age and Less (No. of Res's.)	10	4
Socio-economic Scores (Average)	52.5	51.2
50 Points and More (No. of Res's.)	11	8
49 Points and Less (No. of Res's.)	8	10

Table 6 reveals that the average education of the respondents is less for those answering 4 or more questions correctly on the Dakota value system. Thirteen full bloods responded correctly to 3 or less questions based on the Dakota value system while 14 responded correctly to 4 or more. Mixed bloods tended to agree with less of the Dakota values although here the observations are too few to indicate a definite trend. The average age of those responding correctly to 4 or more of the Dakota values was considerably greater (60.2) than those responding correctly to 3 or less (49.7). The socio-economic scores indicate virtually no

difference.

The question may now be asked: "Is there an association between the amount of education of a respondent and the number of questions which he answers correctly on the Dakota value system?" Stated in the null form, there is no association between these two attributes.

TABLE 7
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND NUMBER
OF RESPONSES TO THE DAKOTA VALUE SYSTEM

Education	3 or Less	4 or More	
8th Grade or More	10 ^a	7	17
7th Grade or Less	9	11	20
	19	18	37

$$\chi^2 = .598 \quad P > .05$$

^aNumbers in categories represent total number of respondents in both communities A and B.

The χ^2 value of .598 is far below the 5 per cent probability level. Therefore, the null hypothesis has not been disproven.

The next question to be asked is: "Is there an association between the amount of Indian ancestry of a respondent and the number of questions which he answers correctly on the Dakota value system?" Stated in the null form, there is no association between these two attributes.

The χ^2 value of .0759 in Table 8 on the next page indicates that this relationship might be obtained by chance nearly 80 times out of 100. Therefore, null hypothesis has not been disproven. It should be noted, however, that the observations in the four cells are small. A more accurate analysis could be made if more observations would have been

obtained in the two categories.

TABLE 8
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDIAN ANCESTRY AND NUMBER
OF RESPONSES TO THE DAKOTA VALUE SYSTEM

Indian Ancestry	3 or Less	4 or More	
Full Bloods	13	14	27
Mixed Bloods	6	4	10
	19	18	37

$$x^2 = .0759^a \quad P > .05$$

^aCorrection factor was used.

Since an association cannot be found between education and Indian ancestry and the number of questions answered correctly on the Dakota value systems, we would proceed to ask whether there is an association between age and the number of respondents answering correctly to the questions based on the Dakota value system. Stated in the null form, there is no association between these two attributes.

TABLE 9
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN AGE AND NUMBER OF RESPONSES
TO THE DAKOTA VALUE SYSTEM

Age	3 or Less	4 or More	
50 Years or More	9	14	23
49 Years or Less	10	4	14
	19	18	37

$$x^2 = 2.460^a \quad P > .05$$

^aCorrection factor was used.

It is evident that $\chi^2 = 2.460$, with 1 degree of freedom, is below the 5 per cent probability level. Therefore, the null hypothesis has not been disproved. This value is significant at just below the 10 per cent confidence level meaning that this χ^2 could have been obtained by chance approximately 10 times out of 100.

Finally, by dichotomizing the socio-economic scores of the respondents into 50 or more and 49 or less, it may be tested whether there is an association between the socio-economic scores and the number of correct responses per person on the Dakota value system. Stated in the null hypothesis, there is no association between these two attributes.

TABLE 10
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCORES AND NUMBER
OF RESPONSES TO THE DAKOTA VALUE SYSTEM

Socio-economic Score	3 or Less	4 or More	
50 Points or More	11	8	19
49 Points or Less	8	10	18
	19	18	37

$$\chi^2 = .669 \quad P > .05$$

The χ^2 of .669 with 1 degree of freedom, is below the 5 per cent probability level. Therefore, we have not disproven the null hypothesis.

General Characteristics of the Respondents

Participating in Marginal Activities

Table 11 indicates that those participating or having participated in marginal activities possess nearly equal education, ~~and~~ pure Indian

ancestry, are older in age and have smaller socio-economic scores.

TABLE 11
GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS
PARTICIPATING IN MARGINAL ACTIVITIES
(VIZ. PEYOTE AND YUWPI)

Selected Characteristics	Marginal Respondents	Non-marginal Respondents
Education (Average No. of Years)	7.5	7.4
8th Grade or More (No. of Respondents)	3	14
7th Grade or Less (No. of Respondents)	5	15
Indian Ancestry:		
Number of Full Bloods	7 (87.5%)	20 (68.9%)
Number of Mixed Bloods	1 (12.5%)	9 (31.0%)
Age (Average Years)	63.0	52.5
50 Years of Age or More (No. of Res's.)	6	19
49 Years of Age or Less (No. of Res's.)	2	10
Socio-economic Scores (Average)	47.8	53.0
50 Points or More (No. of Res's.)	3	16
49 Points or Less (No. of Res's.)	5	13

"Is there an association between the amount of education of a respondent and participation in marginal activities?" Stated in the null form, there is no association between these two attributes.

TABLE 12
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN EDUCATION AND MARGINALITY

Education	Marginal	Non-marginal
8th Grade or More	3	14
7th Grade or Less	5	15
	8	29

$$\chi^2 - .01971^a \quad P > .05$$

^aCorrection factor was used.

It is evident that $\chi^2 = .01971$, with 1 degree of freedom, is far below the 5 per cent probability level. Therefore, we have not disproven the null hypothesis.

"Is there an association between the amount of Indian ancestry of a respondent and participation in marginal activities?" Stated in the null form, there is no association between these two attributes.

TABLE 13
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN INDIAN ANCESTRY AND MARGINALITY

Indian Ancestry	Marginal	Non-marginal	
Full Bloods	7	20	27
Mixed Bloods	1	9	10
	8	29	37

$$\chi^2 = .872^a \quad P > .05$$

^aCorrection factor was used.

The $\chi^2 = .872$ indicates that the null hypothesis has not been disproven.

"Is there an association between age and marginality?" Stated in the null hypothesis, there is no association between these two attributes.

Again in Table 14 on the next page our χ^2 value of .01908 is too small to disprove the null hypothesis.

Finally, the question is asked: "Does an association exist between socio-economic scores and marginality?" Stated in the null hypothesis form we would say that there is no association between these two attributes.

TABLE 14
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN AGE AND MARGINALITY

Age	Marginal	Non-marginal	
50 Years or More	6	19	25
49 Years or Less	2	10	12
	8	29	37
$\chi^2 = .01908^a \quad P > .05$			

^aCorrection factor was used.

TABLE 15
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN SOCIO-ECONOMIC SCORES AND MARGINALITY

Socio-economic Score	Marginal	Non-marginal	
50 Points or More	3 ^a	16	19
49 Points or Less	5	13	18
	8	29	37
$\chi^2 = .2342^b \quad P > .05$			

^anumber of respondents.

^bCorrection factor was used.

The $\chi^2 = .2342$, with 1 degree of freedom, is below the 5 per cent level of probability, therefore, the test of the null hypothesis of this section has not been disproven.

Participation in Marginal Activities and Responses
to the Value Systems

Table 16 reveals that marginal respondents answered correctly to

a considerably greater per cent of questions based on the Dakota value system than did the non-marginal respondents. It will also be noted that the per cent of acceptance of the Western value systems is very high for both marginal and non-marginal respondents. It is interesting to note that the marginal respondents answered correctly to a slightly higher per cent of questions based on the Western value system. Seven of eight of the marginal respondents answered correctly to 4 or more of the questions based on the Dakota value system, while only 11 of 29 of the non-marginal respondents did so.

TABLE 16
RESPONSES TO THE VALUE SYSTEMS
AND PARTICIPATION IN
MARGINAL ACTIVITIES

Area of Response	Marginal Respondents	Non-marginal Respondents
No. of Correct Responses to Dakota Value System	33 ^a (58.9%)	95 ^b (46.6%)
No. of Correct Responses to Western Value System	52 (92.9%)	179 (88.1%)
No. of Respondents Answering 3 or Less Questions Correctly on Dakota Value System	1	18
No. of Respondents Answering 4 or More Questions Correctly on Dakota Value System	7	11

^aOut of a possible 56.

^bOut of a possible 203.

In conclusion, two questions will be stated from the evidence of

Table 16: (1) "Is there an association between the total number of correct responses on each of the two value systems and marginality?" and (2) "Is there an association between marginal and non-marginal respondents and the number of correct responses to the Dakota value system?" Stated in the null form, there is no association between the two attributes of each question. A chi square analysis follows for the two hypotheses respectively.

TABLE 17
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE TOTAL NUMBER OF CORRECT
RESPONSES TO THE VALUE SYSTEMS AND MARGINALITY

Item	Marginal	Non-marginal	
Total No. of Correct Responses to Dakota Value System	33	95	128
Total No. of Correct Responses to Western Value Systems	52	179	231
	85	274	359
$\chi^2 - 1.164 \quad P > .05$			

It is evident that $\chi^2 - 1.164$, with 1 degree of freedom, is less than the 5 per cent probability level. Therefore we have not disproven the first of the above hypotheses of this section.

The $\chi^2 - 4.31$ in Table 18 on the next page, with 1 degree of freedom, is beyond the 5 per cent probability level. Therefore we would reject the null hypothesis. It is consequently concluded that the number of questions answered correctly on the Dakota value system is related to marginality. The greater the amount of Dakota values adhered to, the greater the attraction of marginal activities, especially in an area that

is undergoing a transition in values and one in which the non-indigenous Western values are accepted in larger percentages than the indigenous Dakota values.

TABLE 18
THE ASSOCIATION BETWEEN MARGINALITY AND NUMBER
OF RESPONSES TO THE DAKOTA VALUE SYSTEM

Item	3 or Less	4 or More ^a	
No. of Marginal Respondents	1	7	8
No. of Non-marginal Respondents	18	11	29
	19	18	37

$$\chi^2 = 4.31^b \quad P < .05$$

^aOn the Dakota value system.

^bCorrection factor was used.

Church Relatedness

Considering the relatively recent appearance of the organized Christian church on the reservation scene and its attitudes toward some of the old values of the Dakota culture, it is somewhat surprising to find that nearly all of the respondents were regular church members and quite actively engaged. Some possible explanations of the endorsement of the Christian church might be that: (1) the Christian church has bent and adapted itself to the needs of the Dakota Indian, (2) the church has compromised between the indigenous Dakota and Western values, (3) the Dakota has interpreted some church practices in their own fashion to fit with the values of the old religion, (4) the church meeting provides

an opportunity for social gatherings and visiting and offers some security to the individual by his identifying and belonging to a social group, (5) the Dakota Indian finds that some of the Christian values are similar to his old Dakota values, e.g., generosity and chastity, (6) the church is more personally interested in the individual, working closer to the people and showing a keener and more sincere interest in the welfare of the Dakota than many other outside agencies have. Another somewhat amusing observation was made in that on most reservation Dakota Indians it makes little difference as to which church he belongs, Catholic or Episcopal, or even belonging to the church and participating in Yucipi and Peyote activities.

TABLE 19
CHURCH ATTENDANCE, PREFERENCE AND LOYALTY
(PER CENT)

Selected Characteristics	Percentage
Attending Church	98
Frequency of Attendance: (Adults)	
When ever possible and when ever held	79.7
Once a month or/and seldom	21.6
Do not attend	2.7
Frequency of Attendance: (Children)	
Children attending	67.6
Children do not attend	2.7
Have no children now or never had	24.3
No response	3.4
Church Preference:	
Catholic	34.0
Episcopal	46.0
Church Loyalty:	
Changed churches within the last year	6.0
Have not changed within the last year	94.0

Summary

Tables 1 and 2 indicated a shift or change in cultural values and the norms supporting them with a high degree of acceptance of the Western values and a split on the Dakota. The analysis of Tables 3, 6, 11 and 16 revealed that by chi square tests of significance at the 5 per cent confidence level the hypotheses were not disproven that there was no association between the responses to the Dakota value system and: (1) the particular community, (2) education, (3) Indian ancestry, (4) age and (5) socio-economic scores of the respondents. Furthermore the hypotheses that there was no association between marginality and: (1) education, (2) Indian ancestry, (3) age and (4) socio-economic scores were likewise not disproven. It will be noted, however, that the chi square values obtained in Tables 5 and 9 approached the 5 per cent level of probability in regard to the association between age and community and answering 4 or more questions correctly on the Dakota value system.

A significant association was found between marginality and the number of questions answered correctly on the Dakota value system. This seems to indicate that the more values of the Dakota system one preserves, the more he is inclined to marginal activities. Stated somewhat differently, marginality can best be explained by the analysis which we have made by a conflict in Western and Dakota values than by any other single component.

Table 19 indicated a high percentage of acceptance of the church by both children and adults without it posing a problem or discrepancy to the individual. Nearly 100 per cent of all the respondents were attending church and quite regularly at that.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSIONS, CRITICISMS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY

Adjustments to a Changing Value System

As has been noted, a change or shift has occurred from the old Dakota value system and the norms supporting it to the Western civilization's value systems and the norms supporting them. It was also pointed out that none of the values and norms of the old Dakota culture have vanished completely. The question then arises, "What effect does this have upon the individual?"

To begin with, it is obvious that two value systems have been accepted, the Western with more concensus than the Dakota. Whether or not the individuals adhere to the norms supporting the values in life situations in which he must act absolutely could only be determined and verified through observation of the group over an extended duration of time. Some of the norms, however, are somewhat contradictory. For example, it is impossible to be generous in "Dakota Indian fashion" and simultaneously conform to some of the norms of Western civilization supporting the values of competition, individualism and even saving money. It is a speculation that a respondent finds it much less difficult to profess the values than to act in accordance with the norms supporting them. Instances undoubtedly arise when the individual faces with consternation the problem of action in the face of conflicting norms. The malaise is intensified when he realizes that the sanctions of his social group are inveterably impending upon him. At other times it is conceivable.

that in this transition of changing values, norms are not yet established with the consequence that the individual flounders about without the social control of either society. This condition of normlessness has been called anomie and the individuals enveloped by these circumstances are said to be marginal. Anomie may be defined as a breakdown of the individual's sense of attachment to society, and hence the loss of its norms governing conduct. When this takes place among a large number, society itself becomes normless and disorganized or is in a state of anomie.¹ Several types of anomie are distinguished by Robert MacIver, two of which will be mentioned here.

First, there are those who, having lost altogether, or in a great measure, any system of values that might give purpose of direction to their lives, having lost the compass that points their course into the future, abandon themselves to the present, but a present emptied of significance.²

Next there is a type of anomie which, according to MacIver, overlaps with the first suggested type but is felt more poignantly and subjectively.

(It) is characterized above all by a fundamental and tragic insecurity, something that cuts deeper than the anxieties and dreads that beset other men. It is the insecurity of the hopelessly disoriented. They have lost the ground on which they stood, the ground of their former values. Usually it happens when they have lost also their former environment, their former connection, their social place, their economic support. In the profoundest sense they are 'displaced persons'.³

¹ Clyde McCone, "Time and Tide", p. 80. (MS)

² Robert M. MacIver, "Decent to Anomy," Outside Readings in Sociology, p. 783.

³ Ibid., p. 784.

This study has revealed that the Dakota Indian has to a large extent lost his old system of values which gave purpose and direction to life. "What does the individual do in such a situation or how does he react to this condition of normlessness?" Some alternatives may be listed. (1) He may passively or actively accept a new value system, (2) he may react indifferently or apathetically even denying that the old system of values is lost, (3) he may accept or reject either the imposed or the indigenous value systems or both, (4) he may vacillate between the two, or (5) he may seek other sources of meaning or life organization in either socially approved or disapproved avenues.

Two types of indices of disorganization may be distinguished-- the indices of social disorganization and personal disorganization. The former is more correctly measured by a decrease and lack of consensus of social norms supporting moral values; a definition relating more closely to the condition of anomie. The latter is more correctly measured in terms of such activities which have variously been categorized as "crime" including such violations as murder, drunkenness, theft and others.

This study has not definitely revealed how much normlessness exists among the respondents or in the society as a whole. It has revealed, however, that a change of norms supporting the old Dakota value system has occurred and that some individuals are seeking marginal sources which may provide them with some degree of meaning and life organization. The data show that the influence of the old Dakota rules and values have definitely decreased, thus inviting some social disorganization. The

regularity, uniformity and consistency in the moral order has been disrupted. The values of bravery, generosity, fortitude and wisdom, an integral system of the old social structure, no longer find complete expression in the present Dakota culture and account for some of the loss of life meaning to the individual, a meaning which seeks fulfillment in marginal activities. Remnants of the old value system still persist largely in the form of giving and sharing. Through culture contact and adverse conditions of coercion and suppression the Dakota Indian has slipped out into a fragmentary existence in which he finds himself disinherited. He has been cut off from his former religion which perpetuated the old moral code and invited to accept a new form called Christianity which admonishes him to accept the value systems of Western civilization, systems to which he must somehow make a satisfactory adjustment.

The data indicate that the new Western value systems have been accepted and that there is no apparent vacuity. But the question might well be raised, "Are the new values to which he professes as meaningful and vital to the individual as the old values and norms?" Whenever values which are meaningful and vital to the lives of society members are extirpated they must be replaced by something which is equally vital and meaningful. Indications are that this has not been the case. Although the Dakota Indian apparently accepts the values of Western civilization, he clearly lacks the motivation to pursue the norms supporting them. Many nostalgic respondents told the interviewer during the course of the conversation with them that conditions seemed to be getting worse

for the Dakota Indian instead of better. Often these remarks were followed by the comment that they were much "better off" (perhaps meaning socially, economically, politically) years ago. Perhaps the fact that these new values lack vitality to the individual accounts in part for their being described as lazy and without ambition by some neighbors, acquaintances and the casual newspaper reader.

Criticisms of the Study

Limitations and criticisms of this study may be classified under seven major areas: (1) communication and rapport, (2) personal, (3) approach or perspective, (4) techniques, (5) processes, (6) conclusiveness, (7) indices. In retrospect it may be seen that these criticisms cover both the field study and the entire thesis.

Although many of the respondents were conversant with the English language, it was necessary to translate the questions on the schedule into the Siouan tongue for approximately 57 per cent of the interviewees. Even though a translation was constructed, it was sometimes necessary for the interpreter to explain a question by using an old Indian story or some other such "stage-setting" method. It was hoped that this extra effort and help to the respondent would contribute to the reliability of the responses rather than to the hazards of lack of standardization and stimuli. Suffice it to say here that some improvisations were made with the questions at times. From a semanticist's point of view, words receive their meaning and elicit emotional responses through experiences and attitudes which the informant has formed upon them. Words then come to contain connotations as well as denotations. A translation from English

to Siouan, at best, is idiomatic and therefore some of the meaning may be lost in the process. The fact that the author is not conversant in the Siouan tongue is likewise a distinct limitation. However, it seemed as though the questions centering around those values of Western civilization were answered just as easily as those centering around the "old" Indian culture.

Secondly, there is the noticeable difficulty of the respondent to understand and project himself into a hypothetical situation. A question such as, "If your child went against your wishes, would it help if you reasoned with him?", or "If someone harmed a member of your family would you forgive him without trying to get even?", were difficult to answer and nearly non-applicable especially if the respondent has or had no children or was never confronted with the situation of harm to his family and forgiveness.

Finally, in regard to communication and rapport, there is the tendency on the part of many respondents to remain reticent or give only minimal responses especially when the nature and purpose of the study is foreign to him. This is not entirely a criticism of the respondent however. It was the duty and endeavor of the field worker to explain his study as well as possible and bear in mind that usually the respondent was answering to the best of his ability. It does not logically follow that a taciturn respondent is withholding information. In his quest for meaningful information, the field worker is constantly in danger of projecting his expectancies upon his respondent. Some scepticism or suspicion on the part of the Indian respondent is understandable however.

Many rehabilitation policies have failed with him and consequently caused him some confusion and trauma.

The nature of the personal limitations are much like those of any social scientist. There are the problems of objectivity, biases and sympathism. Complete objectivity is impossible as well as impractical. It also seems that many researchers in applied science are looking for something in particular when they begin their study and have some motives and predilections of one type or another. Because we are compelled and committed to an approach, we are often prevented from seeing phenomena phenomenologically or holistically. In beginning a study many researchers know what they would ideally like to find. If it is not found, however, one should not be disappointed. A researcher is also often prone to define problems with reference to his own standards, values and background. One cannot live in the study community very long, participate in the activities and mingle with the people without becoming somewhat sympathetic with their point of view. This is particularly true with a minority people. Admittedly, this is a human limitation, yet, it is part of what makes us distinctly human.

The approach of the study is in the area of values. In the past this has been considered an elusive topic for the social researcher. Philosophers did most of the inquiry into this field. Recently however, values have come within the grasp of the social scientist. The empirical study of them is possible with this precaution well stated by Goode and Hatt.

Since the social scientist who studies the values of his own culture is also involved in those values, it goes

without saying that it is difficult for him to keep these values from interfering with his scientific work. This may be especially true when the subject of investigation is not merely the description of value systems, but the analysis of conflicting values. In such a case the temptation to be biased by one of the conflicting systems is surely great.... The description of this value conflict is a scientific operation. An evaluation of the situation is not. The exposure of logical contradictions in value systems is a legitimate scientific activity, even though special pleading for one system or the other is not.⁴

The values that were used in this paper were selected on the basis of a review of literature and cannot be trusted as inclusive or definitive. The question dealt with was: "Has there been a change in the value system of the Dakota Indian culture in recent years?" If so, in what areas, to what extent and with what consequences? Other values centering around sexual behavior, competition, time and property certainly have undergone change also and also cause some or a good deal of conflict to the individual. The comparison with some values of Western civilization involves, again, a subjective selection. There may actually be a few, or even many, "points of contact" between the two systems, and cannot therefore be viewed as completely antithetical. There may even be found inconsistencies within our own value system as Myrdal points out in The American Dilemma.

Because of the subjective nature of values, the question might be raised: "How well do values lend to a quantitative report and how much of the meaning of them is communicated by numbers?" Admittedly, there are limitations in the use of statistics. They can be easily manipulated

⁴ William J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt, Methods in Social Research, p. 25.

and highly selective. Actually, very little of the meaning of values is given by numbers. Frequencies merely report what is found. Meaning lies in the interpretation of frequencies and observations. It should also be remembered that the word, "culture", is an abstraction and "stands for a varied mass of data rather than for any substantive entity,"⁵ when we probe beneath the behavioral surface we must consider the matter of values. In this event statistics become less meaningful but perhaps still helpful.

Closely related to the preceding limitations of the study is the fact that a moral code is "pure or idealistic" the precepts of which may be given affirmative lip service but which may be eluded or diluted in practice.

Finally, a limitation may be encountered in formulating questions with which everyone is acquainted. Sometimes it was found that the old cultural values had failed to be transmitted to the younger Dakota Indians.

Other techniques for gathering data could have been used in addition to the participant-observer and interview techniques. Perhaps the case-study or modal personality technique would have offered fruitful supplements to the study. Although the author found such prospective persons, none were studied intensively or systematically enough to qualify as a case study. There was also the possibility of administering an attitudinal scale of unidimensionality. Perhaps a more accurate basis for measurement and prediction obtains from the use of this tool; however, the reliability of this technique depends on at least one hundred schedules which is above

⁵ John J. Honigsmann, Culture and Personality, p. 23.

the number obtained.

Because of the lack of time, no pretesting of the interview schedule was done. The schedule seemed to be adequate and the need rested more on improving the process of administering it. Only a few minor changes were made on the schedule for the sake of communication and clarification.

Two limitations of the dynamics of gathering data which may invite criticism should be stated. One was that three different interpreter-guides were used during the course of the interviewing. The other was the desire and ability of the interviewee to respond as he thought the researcher would like for him to respond. This fact may also offer a possible explanation of the tendency of the Indian respondent toward the "yes" answer. This is called interview "pleasing" and perhaps one of the best precautions to take is to inform the respondent that there are no "right" or "wrong" answers, only his answers. It was emphasized that only his own responses were all that was wanted in terms of his own experiences and beliefs.

The conclusions reached from the data cannot be generalized to apply any farther than the area from which the data were gathered. In other words, what is said from the data is true only for the community which was delimited previously in the discussion. The respondents were nearly all middle to older age males, and that marks a distinct limitation also. A study of the various age groups, both male and female, would certainly prove more encompassing. Other limitations confront the researcher in regard to conclusiveness: "What is conclusive proof?", "How many factors can be known?" and "How can the variables be controlled?"

Finally, the question may be asked: "What is the best index of

group and individual disorganization?" Some that might possibly be used and may have been used in the past are: aid to dependent children and other welfare provisions, poor health, crime, family and interpersonal frictions, negativism, lack of high morale, depression, alcoholism, kinship group break-up and Yuwipi and Peyote activities. Perhaps a combination of indices is better than a single one. A selection of indices in this study was made on the basis of what seemed most commensurate to a problem dealing in conflicting value systems.

Keeping in mind the limitations of the study as indicated above, we may conclude that the major hypothesis--that a conflict in value systems within this framework of culture change is largely responsible for the symptoms of disorganization in Dakota Indians on the Pine Ridge Reservation--receives support from the findings. Although the major hypothesis was too broad to be amenable to testing, the sub-hypothesis (accepted and rejected in Chapter IV) have tended to confirm it. The evidence that certain selected components are not associated to the number of responses to the value systems and to marginality is, of course, of as great substantive significance as is the evidence that the number of responses to the value system of the Dakota Indian is associated with the phenomenon of marginality. Both contribute to an understanding of social disorganization and marginality in the Dakota Indian.

Implications for Further Research

Further research in connection with this study may proceed along some of the following suggested areas: (1) relating more integrally the behavioral phenomena with the ideational, that is, at what level of

synthesis does "do you believe" and "do you do" occur, (2) why do some of the respondents adhere more closely to the old Dakota value system than others, and, conversely, why have some accepted and adjusted to change differently, (3) other values such as competition and cooperation, sexual behavior, time and property could be studied in regard to social disorganization, (4) other indices of disorganization could be used, and (5) the meaning of the Christian religion to the Dakota Indian could be investigated as it relates to the old moral code.

Various methods and techniques of investigation, not used in this study might also be suggested. They would include: (1) constructing other questions which seek to investigate the same values chosen in the present study, (2) other indices of disorganization might be used, (3) a larger sample could be drawn which would include various strata of the Dakota population such as peer groups at various age levels, females as well as males and even a comparison of the present sample with a sample of Dakota Indians living off the reservation, finally, (4) coefficient correlations might be used to determine how much association exists between the various attributes.

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APPENDIX A

OLD AND NEW MORAL CODE:

1. Do you feel that you should receive recognition from others when you give money or food or help to those who need it? Yes, No.
2. If you were badly in need of food and someone gave you enough food for your own need, would you share it with other needy relatives? Yes, No.
3. Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when one marries or dies)? Yes, No.
4. Do you believe in pledging a part of your income to the church and the work of the church? Yes, No.
5. Would you say that your first responsibility is to see that your own family (i.e., your wife and children) is adequately clothed, fed and housed? Yes, No.
6. Do you believe in saving money for emergencies? Yes, No.
7. Do you think it shows a man's bravery when in battle a man becomes so bold as to touch an enemy (count coup)? Yes, No.
8. Do you think a man is braver if he fights in the front lines in war rather than one who supplies those in the thickest fight? Yes, No.
9. Do you feel that a person who lies about you should have it held against him for the rest of his life? Yes, No.
10. If someone harmed a member of your family, would you forgive them without trying to get even? Yes, No.
11. Do you think it is necessary for a man to bear pain himself as long as he can before he asks for help or relief from someone else (e.g., dancing with the thongs in one's flesh in the Sun Dance)? Yes, No.
12. Do you think that the "hard times" on the reservation (such as poor living conditions, lack of food, or sickness) are something that must come to you to test your strength or endurance? Yes, No.
13. Do you feel that an able-bodied man should maintain a regular job if it is at all possible? Yes, No.
14. Do you think it is the parents' responsibility to keep their children busy and out of trouble? Yes, No.
15. If you wanted wisdom would you fast and pray in order that it would come to you? Yes, No.

16. If your child went against your wishes, would it help if you reasoned with him? Yes, No.
17. Which church do you go to? _____
18. Have you changed churches within the last year? Yes, No.
19. Do you attend: Frequency
- | | |
|--|-------|
| Sunday morning services | _____ |
| Mass | _____ |
| Prayer meetings | _____ |
| Sunday School | _____ |
| Special Services (e.g., Easter, Christmas, Weddings) | _____ |
| Picnics, suppers, parties, etc. | _____ |
| Benovolent drives by your church | _____ |
| Guilds, circles, brotherhoods, youth groups | _____ |
| Instruction classes | _____ |
20. Do your children attend?
- | | |
|--------------------------------|-------|
| Bible summer schools and camps | _____ |
| Instruction classes | _____ |
21. Have you attended a:
- | | |
|--|-------|
| Tuwipi meeting? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, <input type="checkbox"/> No. | _____ |
| Peyote meeting? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes, <input type="checkbox"/> No. | _____ |
22. Who would you go to for help when you are sick? _____
23. When you are in trouble or have a problem, who do you turn to for advice? _____

SIOUAN TRANSLATION

Questions Numbers:	Translation: _____
1,2,3.	1. Otuban wicohan anpetu lehan zahancin wasteyalaka ha?
4.	2. Wacekiyasi el, wamaya acampi kin wicayala ha?
5.	3. La awacin wo: Tukto wanjin tokaheya tan oakte yacin kta ha, niye tiwehe nitawa ikiyala, ins nitakola tiwehe?
5.	4. Anpetu lehan ekta, nahancin tiweha ataya kici, woyuta za ins takuku esa, "kici-yuha" oyaka hi ha?
6.	5. Mazsaka-kpatanpi wicohan ha wicayala ha?
7,8.	6. Tohan wokicize yuhapi hantasa, na koskalaka wanji itokab okicise ekta ohino on kin han, nis niista ekta, ha koskalaka ohitika ha, ins wacintoussi walitaka haca ha?
9,10.	7. Okolakiciye wakan ekta wacupepekin ha wokajuju ohini luha kta, la wicohan wicayala ha?
11.	8. Wivanyagwacipi nahanci wicayala ha?
12.	9. Lakota oyata kin zahancin isampa tan onpi okihipi?
13.	10. Tuwe saniyan on hantans, wicase kin ha takami wocasi acan kta ha?
14.	11. Tuktowanjin ohini, tan nicinca iyopayapi kta ha, wayawa wicase ins niye?
15.	12. Nahancin hanteciyas wicayala ha?
16.	13. Nicinca tan hahonpi ha, tohan tuwe wahonhanteciyapi?
17.	14. Okolakiciye wakan tuktowanjin oyapa ha?
18.	15. Ohini okolakiciye wakan la oyapa ha?
19.	16. Anpetu wakan can, okowanjila wacekiya la se ha? Takuku okolakiciye wakan omicciye oyapa ha?
20.	17. Nicinca el anpetu wakan wacupepekiyasi opapi ha?
21.	18. Uvipi oyapa ha? Uncela utapi oyapaha?

SIOUAN TRANSLATION - Continued.

Questions Translation:
Numbers: _____

22. 19. Waniyszanka can, tokaska ecanon se he?
23. 20. Tohan wesice luha hantana, tuwa ca kici voyegleka se he?

APPENDIX B

ECONOMIC SURVEY

_____ County _____ District _____ State

Name _____ Allotment No. _____ No. in Family _____

Names	Ages	School	Grades

Total acres owned _____ Type of Land _____

Total acres leased _____ Type of Land _____

Type of house _____

Number of rooms _____ Approximate age _____

Well _____ Livestock _____ Barn _____ Pump _____ Tank _____

Windmill _____ Is supply adequate _____

Barns _____ Poultry houses _____ Sheds _____

Corrals _____ Chute _____ Squeens _____ Fences _____

Farming Equipment _____

Power _____

Horse Drawn _____

Livestock Inventory _____

Cows _____ Heifers _____ Yrig. Strs. _____ Yrig. Hfns. _____

Calves Str. _____ Heifers _____ Bulls _____ Horses _____

Chickens _____ Turkeys _____ Geese _____ Hogs _____ Sheep _____

Truck _____ Car _____ Pickup _____

Source of Income Other Than Livestock or Farming _____

General Condition of Home and Surroundings _____

Suggested Improvements _____

Participation of Family in Local, Community and Civic Affairs _____

Liabilities

CF Loans \$ _____
 Bank _____
 Rehab. _____
 Store Bills _____
 Other _____

Repayment Cattle _____
 Repayment Schedules _____
 Cash _____
 Cattle _____

Expenses

Farm or Ranch

Lenses _____
 Machinery Repairs _____
 Fences _____
 Feed _____
 Gas _____
 Oil _____
 Other _____

Household

Food _____
 Clothing _____
 Home Repairs _____
 Doctor _____
 Dentist _____
 Entertainment _____

Truck Garden

Amount Planted _____ Stored-Canned _____
 Harvested _____ Sold _____

	Acres Planted	Crops Acres Harvested	Stored	Sold
Wheat	_____	_____	_____	_____
Corn	_____	_____	_____	_____
Onions	_____	_____	_____	_____
Potatoes	_____	_____	_____	_____
Beans	_____	_____	_____	_____
Barley	_____	_____	_____	_____
Flax	_____	_____	_____	_____
Alfalfa	_____	_____	_____	_____
Other	_____	_____	_____	_____

Income from sale of livestock \$ _____
 Field Crops \$ _____
 Garden Crops \$ _____
 Leases \$ _____
 Labor \$ _____

General attitude of head of family _____
 Type of activity best suited for individual _____

PARTICIPATION IN NEIGHBORHOOD ACTIVITIES

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>No. times last month</u>
Do they visit neighbors?	_____	_____	_____
Do neighbors visit them?	_____	_____	_____
Do they exchange work with neighbors?	_____	_____	_____
Do they exchange tools and machinery with neighbors?	_____	_____	_____
Do they lend food to neighbors?	_____	_____	_____
Do they lend money to neighbors?	_____	_____	_____
Do they attend celebrations or feasts?	_____	_____	_____
Do they hunt or fish with neighbors?	_____	_____	_____

Who do they visit with? (Start with most frequent)

	<u>Name</u>	<u>Relationship</u>
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

M F W
M F W

Do they participate with neighbors in:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
Card playing	_____	_____
Ball games	_____	_____
Telling jokes	_____	_____
Gossiping	_____	_____
Discussing old times	_____	_____

COMMUNICATION

Do they have a family car? Yes _____ No _____ Make _____ Model _____
 telephones? _____
 radio? _____
 television? _____

How often do they receive mail? _____ times per week.

Do they receive newspapers? Yes _____ No _____ Daily _____ Weekly _____ Other _____

Do they receive magazines? Yes _____ No _____ Number of subscriptions _____

Do they receive a mail order catalog? Yes _____ No _____

ECOLOGY

Do relatives live near by? (Within 10 miles) Yes ___ No ___

Relationship	Distance (List nearest first)
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

How far are they from:

- 1. Agency offices _____ miles
- 2. Water supply _____
- 3. Wood supply _____
- 4. Trading store _____
- 5. School _____
- 6. Church _____
- 7. Hospital _____
- 8. Garage _____
- 9. Bank _____
- 10. Movie theatre _____

Do they share use of land? Yes ___ No ___

With relatives	Name	Relationship
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Do they share use of home (other than for short visits)? Yes ___ No ___

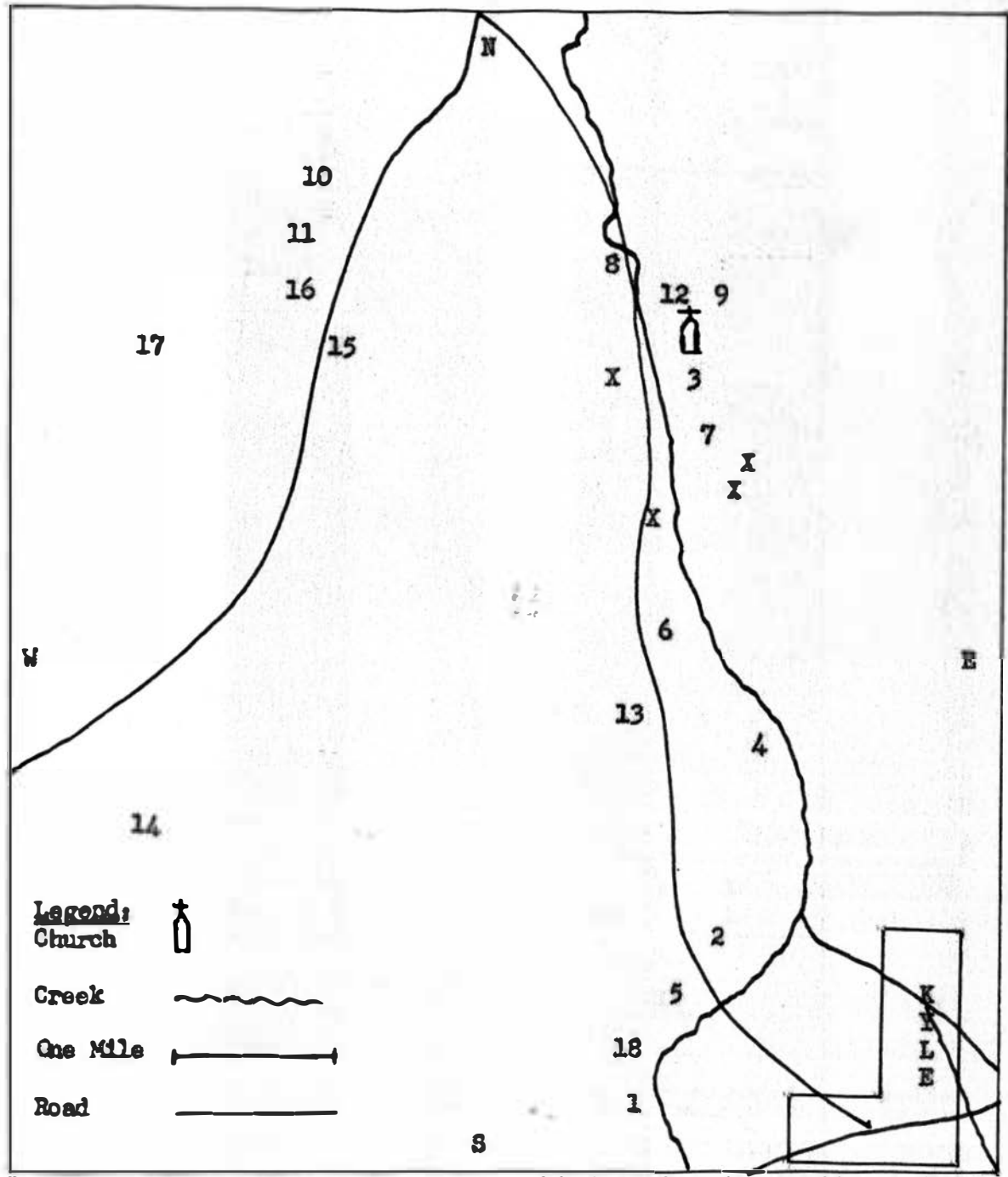
With relatives	Name	Relationship
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

What changes have taken place in land holdings in the last five years?

- _____ gained land by purchase (acres)
- _____ lost land by sale (acres)
- _____ gained land by rent or lease (acres)
- _____ lost land by rent or lease (acres)

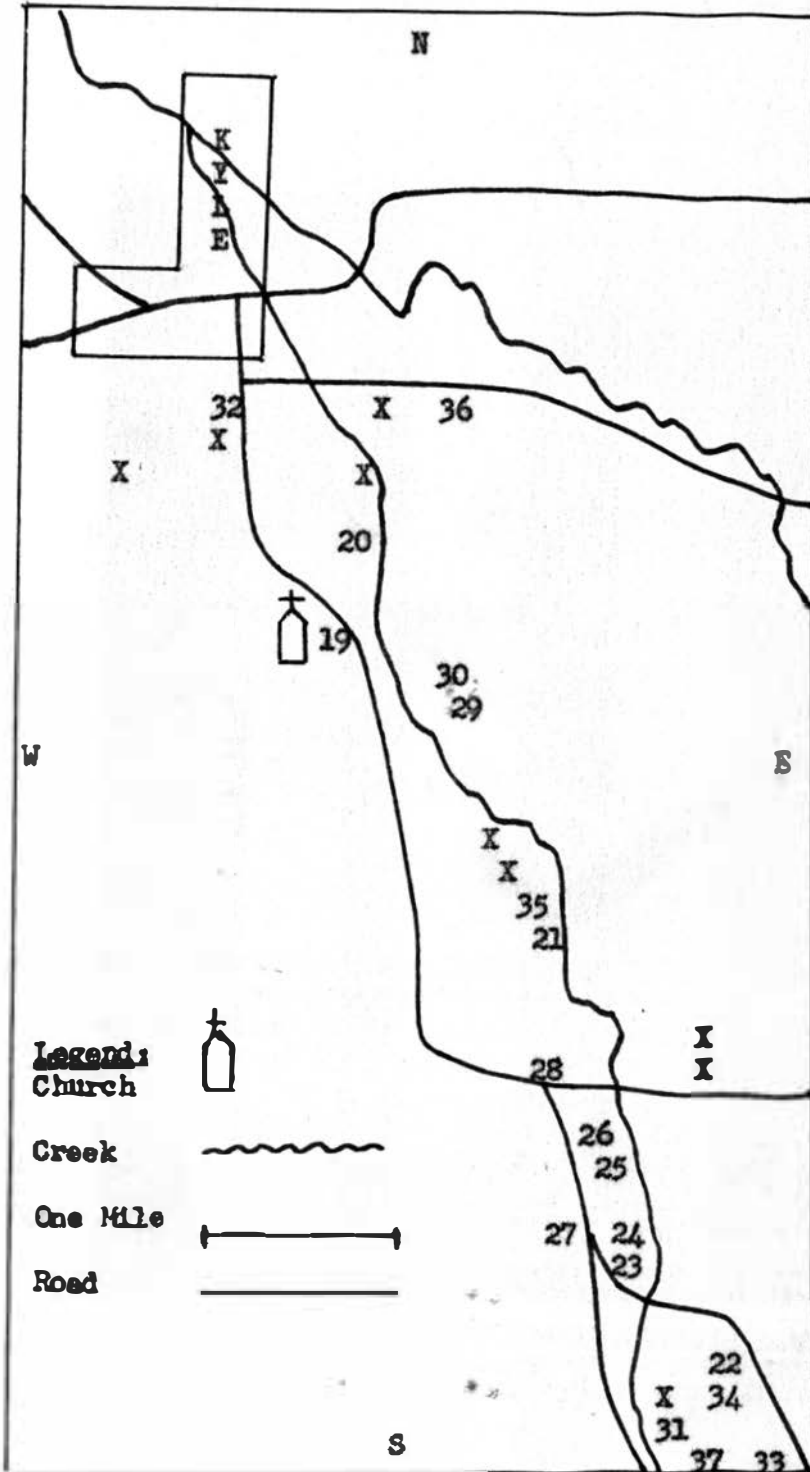
APPENDIX C

LOCATION OF RESIDENCES*
IN COMMUNITY A



*An X indicates that no interview was obtained from the residence for reasons given in Chapter I of this thesis.

LOCATION OF RESIDENCES
IN COMMUNITY B



APPENDIX D

TABLE A-1
SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESPONDENTS

Res. No.	No. of "Correct" Responses		Indian Ancestry	Age	Educa.	Soc. Econ. Score
	Dak. Val. Sys.	West. Val. Sys.				
1.	4	5	M	63	10	55
2.	5	5	F	59	5	45
3.	2	5	F	58	8	58
4.	3	7	F	43	6	51
5.	6	7	F	33	12	52
6.	7	7	F	64	6	57
7.	5	5	M	55	8	79
8.	3	7	M	34	8	56
9.	2	6	M	29	8	65
10.	0	6	F	69	8	45
11.	2	6	F	72	6	47
12.	1	7	M	24	10	65
13.	4	5	M	74	8	49
14.	3	6	M	71	4	52
15.	3	7	F	47	9	54
16.	3	6	F	31	7	46
17.	2	7	M	47	8	60
18.	3	7	M	32	10	63'
19.	4	6	M	67	9	57
20.	3	7	F	65	6	47
21.	4	7	F	72	0	48
22.	4	7	F	43	9	51
23.	5	7	F	66	5	44
24.	5	7	F	62	6	48
25.	5	6	F	65	5	44
26.	5	7	F	61	1	46
27.	2	8	F	53	6	47
28.	3	5	F	64	4	45
29.	4	6	F	63	5	51
30.	4	6	F	47	6	48
31.	5	7	F	69	5	45
32.	2	7	F	58	5	45
33.	2	6	F	83	7	45
34.	4	7	F	76	7	45
35.	2	6	F	39	8	53
36.	4	7	F	44	8	53
37.	3	5	F	25	8	59

TABLE A-2
QUESTIONS BASED ON DAKOTA INDIAN VALUE SYSTEM
FOR
COMMUNITY A

Question	No. of Respondents Answering:		
	yes	no	no res. or don't know
1. Do you feel that you should receive recognition from others when you give money or food or help to those who need it?	9 (50%)	8 (44%)	1 (6%)
2. If you were badly in need of food and someone gave you enough food for your own need, would you share it with other needy relatives?	13 (72%)	4 (22%)	1 (6%)
3. Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when one marries or dies)?	15 (83%)	3 (17%)	0 (0%)
7. Do you think it shows a man's bravery when in battle a man becomes so bold as to touch an enemy (count coup)?	5 (28%)	7 (39%)	6 (33%)
8. Do you think a man is braver if he fights in the front lines in war rather than one who supplies these in the thickest fight?	11 (61%)	4 (22%)	3 (17%)
11. Do you think it is necessary for a man to bear pain himself as long as he can before he asks for help or relief from someone else (e.g., dancing with the thongs in one's flesh in the Sun Dance)? (Do you still believe in the old Sun Dance?)	2 (11%)	12 (67%)	4 (22%)
15. If you wanted wisdom would you fast and pray in order that it would come to you?	3 (17%)	13 (72%)	2 (11%)
Average per cent	(46%)	(40%)	(14%)

TABLE A-3
 QUESTIONS BASED ON DAKOTA INDIAN VALUE SYSTEM
 FOR
 COMMUNITY B

Question	No. of Respondents Answering:		
	yes	no	no res. or don't know
1. Do you feel that you should receive recognition from others when you give money or food or help to those who need it?	8 (42%)	10 (56%)	1 (2%)
2. If you were badly in need of food and someone gave you enough food for your own need, would you share it with other needy relatives?	13 (68%)	6 (32%)	0 (0%)
3. Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when one marries or dies)?	15 (79%)	4 (21%)	0 (0%)
7. Do you think it shows a man's bravery when in battle a man becomes so bold as to touch an enemy (count coup)?	8 (47%)	7 (41%)	2 (12%)
8. Do you think a man is braver if he fights in the front lines in war rather than one who supplies those in the thickest fight?	7 (37%)	7 (37%)	5 (26%)
11. Do you think it is necessary for a man to bear pain himself as long as he can before he seeks for help or relief from someone else (e.g., dancing with the thongs in one's flesh in the Sun Dance)? (Do you still believe in the old Sun Dance?)	8 (42%)	10 (56%)	1 (2%)
15. If you wanted wisdom would you fast and pray in order that it would come to you?	10 (56%)	9 (44%)	0 (0%)
Average per cent	(53%)	(41%)	(6%)

TABLE A-4
QUESTIONS BASED ON DAKOTA INDIAN VALUE SYSTEM
FOR
MARGINAL RESPONDENTS

Question	No. of Respondents Answering:		
	yes	no	no res. or don't know
1. Do you feel that you should receive recognition from others when you give money or food or help to those who need it?	9	2	1
2. If you were badly in need of food and someone gave you enough food for your own need, would you share it with other needy relatives?	6	2	0
3. Do you give away gifts in the name of your relatives or children when something special happens (e.g., when one marries or dies)?	6	2	0
7. Do you think it shows a man's bravery when in battle a man becomes so bold as to touch an enemy (count coup)?	1	3	3
8. Do you think a man is braver if he fights in the front lines in war rather than one who supplies those in the thickest fight?	2	3	3
11. Do you think it is necessary for a man to bear pain himself as long as he can before he asks for help or relief from someone else (e.g., dancing with the thonga in one's flesh in the Sun Dance)? (Do you still believe in the old Sun Dance?)	7	1	0
15. If you wanted wisdom would you fast and pray in order that it would come to you?	6	2	0

TABLE A-5
QUESTIONS BASED ON WESTERN VALUE SYSTEMS
FOR
MARGINAL RESPONDENTS

Question	No. of Respondents Answering:		
	yes	no	no res. or don't know
4. Do you believe in pledging a part of your income to the church and the work of the church?	6	1	0
5. Would you say that your first responsibility is to see that your own family (i.e., your wife and children) is adequately clothed, fed and housed?	8	0	0
6. Do you believe in saving money for emergencies?	8	0	0
9. Do you feel that a person who lies about you should have it held against him for the rest of his life?	1	6	1
10. If someone harmed a member of your family, would you forgive them without trying to get even?	7	1	0
13. Do you feel that an able bodied man should maintain a regular job if it is at all possible?	8	0	0
14. Do you think it is the parents' responsibility to keep their children busy and out of trouble?	8	0	0